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THE HISTORY OF IRELAND

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THE IRISH SITUATION, 1921.

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ARMAGH
DOWN
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CAVAN
LOUTH
SLIGO
LEITRIM
MAYO
ROSCOMMON
CONNAUGHT
LONGFORD
WEST MEATH
MEATH
GALWAY
OFFALY
KILDARE
DUBLIN
FREE STATE
LEINSTER
CLARE
LEIX
WICKLOW
CARLOW
TIPPERARY
KILKENNY
LIMERICK
WEXFORD
MUNSTER
KERRY
WATERFORD
CORK
Malin Hd
Lough Swilly
Inishowen Hd
Rathlin I.
Fair Hd
Mull of Cantire
Londonderry
Ballymena
Larne
Belfast
Lough Neagh
Newtownards
Strangford
Lough
Dundrum B.
Downpatrick
Newry
Armagh
Omagh
Enniskillen
Lough Erne
Sligo
Sligo Bay
Donegal Bay
Ballyshannon
Bloody Foreland
Tory I.
Sheep Haven
Bluestack
Errigal
Slieve League
Erris Hd
The Mullet
Inishkea
Blacksod Bay
Achil Hd
Broad Haven
Killala B.
Ballina
L. Conn
L. Mask
Lough Corrib
Connemara
Slyne Hd
Clare I.
Clew Bay
Castlebar
Westport
Inishturk
Inishbofin
Aran I.
Galway Bay
Galway
Ballinasloe
Athenry
Loughrea
Gort
Black Hd
Kinvara
Tuam
Athlone
Mullingar
Longford
Granard
Cavan
Kells
Navan
Trim
Tara
Ballivor
Ballivor
Ballaghan
Slane
Drogheda
Howth Hd
Dublin
Dublin Bay
Dunleary
Swords
Lambay I.
Maynooth
Naas
Bray
Wicklow
Wicklow Hd
Arklow
Carlow
Tullow
Castlecomer
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Thurles
Cashel
Tipperary
Clonmel
Carrick on Suir
Waterford
Wexford
Wexford Haven
Newross
Enniscorthy
Gorey
Carnew
Youghal
Youghal B.
Dungarvan
Dungarvan Harb.
Waterford Harb.
Dunmore B.
Carnsore Pt
Tramore
Tramore B.
Ardmore
Ardmore B.
Helvick Hd
Dungarvan
Lismore
Mallow
Fermoy
Blackwater R.
Kanturk
Mitchelstown
Knocknagree
Newcastle
Charleville
Tralee
Tralee B.
Dingle
Dingle Bay
Smerwick
Blasket I.
Valentia I.
Killarney Lakes
Macgillicuddy Reeks
Kenmare
Mucroom
Cork
Middleton
Cove
Queenstown
Cork Harbour
Kinsale
Kinsale Harb.
Bandon
Kinsale Hd
Old Head of Kinsale
Courtmacsherry
Courtmacsherry B.
Timoleague
Clonakilty
Clonakilty B.
Rosscarbery
Rosscarbery B.
Glandore
Glandore Harb.
Castletownbere
Bantry
Bantry Bay
Dursey I.
Skibbereen
Mizen Hd
Cape Clear
Clear I.
Kenmare R.
Blackwater R.
Suir R.
Nore R.
Barrow R.
Slaney R.
Liffey R.
Boyne R.
Shannon R.
Feale R.
Maine R.
Lee R.
Bandon R.
Blackwater R.
Foyle R.
Bann R.
Lagan R.
Erne R.
Moy R.
Corrib R.
Lough Derg
Lough Ree
Lough Allen
Lough Gara
Lough Mask
Lough Conn
Lough Melvin
Lough Macnean
Lough Oughter
Lough Sheelin
Lough Ennell
Lough Owel
Lough Derravaragh
Lough Ennell
Lough Lene
Lough Iron
Lough Boderg
Lough Key
Lough Gara
Lough Arrow
Lough Gill
Lough Gara
Lough Corrib
Lough Mask
Lough Carra
Lough Conn
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Lough Allen
Lough Gara
Lough Mask

THE HISTORY OF IRELAND

BY

STEPHEN GWYNN

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New York
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
1923
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DA
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THE map facing this page was issued in 1567 and signed Jo: Goghe. It has been reduced and reproduced by the Irish Photo. Engraving Co. It is such a chart as might have been compiled last century for military purposes to illustrate the distribution of tribes in a West African hinterland. The whole coast from Lough Swilly eastwards and round to the south-west is known in detail; the west coast much less so: and in this, as in all sixteenth-century maps, the westward projection of Connaught is not rendered. W. S. Green, from special study, held that the Armada was finally destroyed by such a map, when it came round from the north and laid a course for Spain that brought it right up against the coast of North Mayo, where it perished. Lough Erne is also quite wrongly mapped, Mask and Corrib shown as one lake. The west was out of Elizabethan knowledge.

Meath is still regarded as a separate region from Leinster. Six earldoms are shown. Clancarty is printed according to the Irish pronunciation, without the *t*. Some names may be difficulty to identify: thus, O Sole uan, in the south-west, for O'Sullivan, Slegagh for Sligo. O'Donnell is simply O DO. O'Byrne near Dublin is O Brin. Killybegs harbour in Donegal is Calbeg. The three septs of the MacSwineys—MacSwiney Banaght, MacSwiney Fanad, and MacSwiney Doe (written here Toeh, that is, Tuatha)—are depicted in gallo-glass equipment.

The distribution of forest should be specially noted; woods were the chief obstacle to conquest in Elizabeth's day.

It will be noted that scarcely any towns are shown.

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HIBERNIA
WEST
EST
SOUTH
NORTH
MONST
CONNAGHT
ULSTER
LEINSTR
MEATH
Sole
Clancarty
Vicont Barymore
The Erle of Clanrykerd
Mc Diarmod
O Kelly
O Rayly
O Roerk
O Dogher
O Cahan
O Neile
Mc Swyny
Mac Gwyre
Mac Diarmod e lorge
O Conor don
O Conor slegagh
O Conor Kery
O Mahon
O Harlem
O Byrne
O Toole
The Ile of Kentire
The Ile of Lewis
The Hebrides

PREFACE

In compiling this summary outline of Irish history, I have endeavoured to use the *Annals of the Four Masters* as an armature or central support as far as they reach: that is, up to the Flight of the Earls. Quotations to which no reference is attached are from O'Donovan's edition of them. It is impossible to recognise fully the rest of my literary indebtedness. In my task I avoided consulting other works of the same character as that on which I was engaged; indeed, several of those now available were not then published. But I made some use of Joyce's *Short History*. His *Social History of Ancient Ireland* is in quite another category: it was a source from which I derived much. Mr Orpen's *Ireland under the Normans* and Mr Bagwell's *Ireland under the Tudors* and *Ireland under the Stuarts* have been of course invaluable quarries of fact; and for the period from Cromwell to the Union Lecky's great work has guided me. But I desire to acknowledge with special emphasis the light received from Mr Philip Wilson's *Beginnings of Modern Ireland* and from Mr Dunlop's *Ireland under the Commonwealth*. In the later part of the work nothing has been of so much service for my purpose as Mr George O'Brien's three volumes on the *Economic History of Ireland* from the seventeenth century to the great famine. What I owe to Mrs J. R. Green's *Making of Ireland* and other books is less definite, but it has affected my whole outlook; and the same is true of Douglas Hyde's *Literary History of Ireland*.

In the earlier part, Professor Bury's *Life of St Patrick* helped me more than anything else to a conception of what was involved in the Christianisation of Ireland; and Professor Lawlor's book on St Malachy revealed much of Ireland's state just before the Normans came.

Finally, without the books of Professor MacNeill, his *Phases of Irish History* and his *Celtic Ireland* I should never have attempted even in this rudimentary fashion to trace the history as a whole. Out of the chaotic mass which is in the *Annals* he has produced an intelligible fabric.

I have ventured to borrow passages of translation from Archbishop Healy's *Life of St Patrick*, believing that one who showed me much hospitable courtesy while living would not have disapproved this boldness. Like every other student, I owe much to his other work, *Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars.*

My manuscript was read in part by my brother, Mr E. J. Gwynn, and by Mr Philip Wilson, from the standpoint of their special knowledge ; and by my friend Geoffrey Dearmer from that of complete unfamiliarity with the subject. Mr George O'Brien read the whole of it. They have my thanks for their patience and for many criticisms by which I profited ; but they are responsible only for making the book less faulty than it would have been without their help.

A small map of contemporary Ireland is prefixed for general convenience of reference : it will not suffice for detail. I have endeavoured to make clear the old divisions of the country by reference to our modern county boundaries. To this has been added a reproduction of one of the Elizabethan maps, which at least help us to see how those who had to govern the country pictured it to themselves. For guidance as to those maps, and for countless other courtesies, I am indebted to the Librarians of the National Library in Dublin.

There is only this to add. I have studied Irish history as a means to understand my own country, in which I have lived long and travelled much, about which I have written much, and for which I have worked ; and in so far as I have felt able to interpret the past, it has always been in the light of the present which I knew.

A technically complete index would have been impossibly cumbrous. One has been compiled with great pains so as to assist students by bringing together isolated references.

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THE HISTORY OF IRELAND

CHAPTER I

IRELAND IN LEGENDARY TIMES

IRISH history is the story of a people living in an island, which island again makes part of a closely related island-group. Both these geographical facts have profoundly affected the destiny and the character of the Irish race. Yet, however incomplete would be a history of Ireland written with reference to Ireland only, to write of it simply as part of the British Isles is much more misleading, because this can be done with some appearance of giving a full account. History is concerned with the development of civilisation, and the civilisation to which Ireland belongs is that of Europe, not of the British Isles. Ireland should always be viewed as a part of Europe ; and to-day as part of that greater Europe which includes the continent of America, as well as Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa.

Ireland came late into European history, for Europe's civilisation began about the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, and spread slowly west, and still more slowly northwards. Visitors to Herculaneum and Pompeii are often surprised to see that eighteen hundred years ago people in little towns near Naples had water laid on in their houses, and taps to turn it on and off. Yet more than eighteen hundred years earlier dwellings in Crete had the same provision. Italy was still barbarous while Crete, taught from Egypt, was highly civilised. Ireland was still barbarous when Italy had reached almost our modern standard of convenience and luxury. The Cretan civilisation was blotted out, yet the ideas embodied in it survived and reappeared. Roman civilisation was almost destroyed in many countries, especially in France, which was the natural link between these islands and the early centres of

European civilisation ; yet the ideas remained. But in those days ideas were not easily transmitted. Now, a man can write down the plan for doing a certain thing, and can easily send many copies of what he has written to almost any part of the world, and they can be understood and carried into practice. Before writing and the means of multiplying what is written existed, ideas could only be transported by transporting those who possessed them. Travel was not easy, and people moved only for something to be got that they could not get at home. They moved, that is, only for commerce or for conquest ; but when they moved, they carried their ideas with them ; and so civilisation spread. Unfortunately history tells us little about the movements for commerce, which always advanced civilisation ; but much about movements for conquest, which often destroyed it. Yet conquest also often civilised. The Roman conquerors civilised Transalpine Gaul, which we call France, and through it the conquest and the civilisation spread to Britain. Rome's progress stopped short at the Irish Sea, so that Ireland had not within its borders till several centuries later what came to Britain shortly after the Christian era—well-built towns and houses, a system of municipal government which had worked well on the whole in many lands. The Irish and the Scandinavian peoples were not reached by the usages of Roman life, and this delayed the development among them of European civilisation. In a sense, Irish history begins from the point at which Ireland was reached by a strong and definite wave of influence from the Roman world. St Patrick established throughout Ireland what was then the religion of the Roman Empire ; and by so doing he brought Ireland into far closer relations than before with the civilisation from which all European culture descends. A necessary part of his task was to diffuse the use and knowledge of writing ; and so from his time Irish history began to be written down.

But one of the facts which written history transmits is that there existed in Ireland before this era an elaborate and carefully guarded historical tradition. We possess that tradition, and, though it has certainly been altered in transmission, it contains much historical material. Some attention must be given to it because the history of the Irish nation can be traced further back than that of any people in Europe except the Greeks and Romans. It is our main source of

information concerning the Celtic races who played so great a part in shaping the modern world.

Its value has been discredited by the fact that Irish chroniclers, working after they got the Old Testament and other chronicles of ancient history, attempted to link up the history of Ireland as it came down to them with the history of the world as they read it. Later still, native historians, while reproducing their traditional accounts, recognised clearly that they were not trustworthy beyond a point. They fixed that point about 320 B.C. This is interesting, because archæology leads us to believe that the Gaelic race came to Ireland about that time. It is desirable to consider first what the chroniclers tell us and then to compare it with the known facts.

According to the chroniclers there were five successive colonisations ; the first that of the Parthalonians, the second that of the Nemedians, who were much oppressed by people called the Fomorians. All this may be dismissed as pure mythology. The third colony was that of the Firbolg. This begins to get in touch with fact ; there were real people so called. The fourth was that of the Tuatha Dé Danann. These represent quite certainly gods who in the earlier heroic romances mixed themselves up with the loves and wars of heroic mortals as did the gods of ancient Greece. The fifth and last colony was the Milesians. These are simply the Gaels ; but the name was invented after the Roman *Miles* had become famous through the western world. Probably the Gaelic invaders never heard it.

Now as to what we know. There is no record in history or tradition of a time when people in Ireland spoke anything but Gaelic. But the Picts, who, as the Venerable Bede tells us, kept their own distinct speech in the Britain of his day, the early part of the eighth century, were in Ireland also ; and up to that same period they were recognised by the Gaels as a distinct people. *Picti* is Latin, meaning the Tattooed ; the Gaels called them Cruithni. The Cruithni were one of several tribes or groups of those earlier inhabitants whom the Gaels subjugated. All these were under tribute to the Gaelic chiefs, even though they still owned their stretch of territory and had their own chiefs. They were therefore called the "Rent-paying Communities." The Picts were chiefly in eastern Ulster, but patches of them existed elsewhere.

Another widely diffused tribe or group were the Firbolg. Firbolg means Men of the Leather Bag, and the chroniclers made up a story to account for it which is quite unhistorical, and was plainly invented to connect the legendary history of Ireland with the legendary history of Greece. But the name becomes interesting because other rent-paying communities also had names relating to a trade or craft, such as the Ceard-righe, Smith folk ; and it is conjectured that a sort of caste system, under which occupations are hereditary in a tribe, may have existed among these pre-Gaelic peoples. It is even suggested that the tinker clans who still exist in Ireland may descend from them. The Firbolgs were doubtless workers in leather, makers of the common sacks then in use, and, probably because this was a craft of low grade, the name Firbolg was often used by the Gaels to describe the whole of these conquered and subject peoples, who still lived on in very large numbers among their conquerors, and by intermarriage with them produced a mixed race.

We do not know whether all these different rent-paying groups used dialects of the same language or whether they were of the same stock. It is pretty certain that they were of the dark-white European type, who prevailed along the Mediterranean basin, and in Europe were subjugated by those northern peoples, more commonly fair and blue-eyed, of whom the Celts were one. But we do know from constant Irish record, passing into written history, the districts in which their various tribe-groups were living in Ireland within historic times ; and we know also that they were not really of an inferior racial type. Some of the tribes appear to have been by profession fighting men, employed in war by the Gaelic kings ; and some of the most famous champions in Irish romance came from these stocks. The reason why the Gaels were able to conquer them completely was that the Gaelic invaders belonged to a Celtic group which had the first requisite for conquest—superior military equipment. There is reason to believe that the Gaels were the first people to bring iron into Ireland.

Archæology tells us that there is no trace of the Iron Age in Ireland before about 350 B.C. ; it tells us also that the Celts were working iron in the Danube basin three or even four centuries earlier. In Ireland, copper and bronze had been in use more than a thousand years before this ; metal

work was already highly developed. But the possession of iron made as much difference as the possession of gunpowder for conquest, and more for the advance of civilisation. Bronze could never be plenty ; in very ancient copper workings near Waterford wooden shovels have been found, showing that even miners had still to work with wooden tools. Once the secret of working iron is discovered, it can be in every man's hand for a tool or a weapon. Power over matter is greatly increased in this way, and the Gaels when they came to Ireland to attack a race not using iron, had themselves used iron as long as our race has used gunpowder. They were in a much more advanced state of development.

They certainly brought with them the characteristic Celtic custom of maintaining professional bards, whose duty it was to record events in rhythm and to preserve the earlier records ; to compose and to recite. The Irish historians who placed the beginnings of true tradition about 320 B.C. were probably not far wrong ; for probably the Gaels came to Ireland about the fourth century before Christ, and probably from their coming onwards events in Ireland began to be much more systematically recorded.

How or when the Picts and Firbolgs and other rent-paying peoples got to Ireland we do not in the least know. We know that Ireland was still under ice at a time when men were moving about in France and even in southern England. The earliest traces of man in Ireland show him in the Later Stone Age, already a tiller of land, possessing pottery, but having no use of metal. Men of this type constructed the megalolithic monuments—the cromlechs and the sepulchral barrows, of which the great mounds at Dowth and New Grange are chief examples. Brugh na Boinne, the Irish name for these burial-places, comes into all the Irish stories. But the tombs were not the work of the Gael. They belonged to an older race, wholly outside our ken, and Gaelic imagination made them the home of Gods. The chroniclers state that Irish history begins to be trustworthy from the foundation of Emain Macha (often called Emania) by a king, Kimbaeth, whose wife, Macha, gave her name to this, the chief fortress of ancient Ulster. After her was called also Ardmacha, or Armagh, the rise of ground a mile or two distant. Here St Patrick fixed the centre of Irish Christianity. Seven centuries and a half between the foundation of Emania and the

ecclesiastical foundation of Armagh comprise a tract of time during which we know dimly, but with increasing distinctness as time goes on, the manner of life, the sequence of events, and the succession of rulers in pre-Christian Ireland.

Our best knowledge comes through the earliest cycles of Irish romances, just as we know most of early Greece through the Homeric poems. These romances describe a warlike people whose chiefs lived in duns, or forts, fenced about with earthen embankments. These can be chiefly traced at Emania (now called Navan Fort), at Tara, and in many other places. The Irish of this period built great houses, finely decorated ; but they did not build with stone. Ireland was very thickly wooded, and the legendary history again and again records amongst the achievements of early kings their clearing of plains for pasture and for tillage. The walls of the houses were of mud plastered upon wattles—a form of building common in many parts of the world to-day, for instance, in the Balkans. The partitions were of wood, and bronze was used to decorate them. Clothing was highly elaborate, they could dye many colours. They had gold and silver for ornaments, they used bronze greatly ; they had iron for their weapons and their tools. Their chief wealth was in cattle, but payments of tribute were made also in objects of metal and woven stuffs. Money was not in use. There were no shops. What a man needed was made in his own household or got from the maker of it. All this was true of Ireland for hundreds of years after Christianity, and the unknown poets who made up their romances described no doubt very largely what they saw in kingly houses of their own time. But in some respects there is a marked difference between the periods. The heroes of the romances which centre about Emania are chariot fighters—like those of Homer. As we come down to ages nearer clear history the war-chariot disappears. It had disappeared from among the Gauls when Cæsar conquered them ; but he found the Britons still using it, about fifty years before Christ — very near the time when Irish tradition places the chief flourishing of Emania. Conachar Mac Nessa, under whom Emania was most famous, is said to have lived during Christ's lifetime.

The greatest of these early romances is the Táin Bo

Cuailgne, or Cattle Raid of Cooley. It describes a war in which Ulster is attacked by a host from the rest of Ireland, led by the princes of Connaught. In the story the war is levied to carry off the famous Brown Bull from Cooley (that is, the mountainous Carlingford peninsula in County Louth), just as the siege of Troy is represented as a quest for Helen. We know that, historically speaking, Troy was besieged and burnt by the Greeks ; we may doubt whether it was only for Helen's beauty. But whether from the Táin or from the Iliad we get a good general idea of what war was then. On both sides the fighters are warriors, not soldiers ; they are not under a common discipline and command, making part of a regular army. Cuchulain, the chief Ulster champion, is no more under the orders of Conachar Mac Nessa than Achilles was under the orders of Agamemnon ; and the same is true of warriors in the invading host which is headed by Ailill, king of Connaught, and his queen Maeve. As in Homer, battles are represented as encounters between the champions of either side. Things can never have been quite like this in any battle ; yet in the Middle Ages, when a knight in armour bore about the same relation to an ordinary soldier as a tank to a rifleman, battles did in great measure become a number of duels between the really armed combatants. Cuchulain and the rest belonged to the age when metal was scarce, and probably the rank and file had very poor weapons and no defensive armour. The Irish did not use the bow in fighting till very late in their history.

The system of rule, too, was less developed than in the historic period. Irish chroniclers have transmitted the belief that there was always in Ireland a High King with rights over the lesser kingdoms, but there is no trace in the epics of any central authority. There was a kingdom of Ulster, which then reached south to the lower Boyne ; a kingdom of Connaught ; a kingdom of Munster ; a kingdom of Leinster, which had its seat at Dinree on the Barrow ; and another of North Leinster with its seat at Tara. There was, in short, a pentarchy. This order had ceased to exist before Irish chronicles began to be written down ; and chroniclers, reading the present of their day into the past they recorded, assumed that there was always a High King, ruling from Tara. Yet the true tradition is preserved in an expression that still lives in ordinary Gaelic speech and is frequent in the old literature. Cuchulain, for

instance, after he has unknowingly killed his own son in combat, is made to say :

> "If I and my heart's Conlaoch
> Were playing our kingly feats together,
> We could travel from sea to strand
> The Five Fifths of Ireland."

The Five Fifths of Ireland made this pentarchy of five kingdoms.

CHAPTER II

THE DAWN OF THE HISTORICAL PERIOD

THE rulers of Ireland, whose wars with one another for land and for booty are described in the romances, were Gaelic by blood ; but their hosts comprised many of the older population. The best body of fighting men in Maeve's army were the Galians, a non-Milesian tribe from Leinster. Ferdiad, Cuchulain's strongest opponent, was not of Milesian stock ; it is even probable that Cuchulain himself was a Pict. This is rendered more likely by the fact that Cuchulain does not come into any of the genealogical lists by which the Gaelic noble families traced back their descent to legendary times. The same fact adds credibility to their pedigrees, for if they had been work of invention, Cuchulain, chief of heroes, would have figured largely as an ancestor in them.

The reason why these genealogical lists may be regarded as historical back to a period before the general use of writing is that very many persons had a deep interest in their accuracy, and that a regular organisation existed for preserving them. Every man's place in the family group was of such importance to his whole life that record needed to be clear ; and for the community leadership was determined by complex questions of descent. Authority and the privileges accompanying authority were transmitted, not directly from father to son, by a simple hereditary succession ; but the successor was chosen from a group of persons in a certain degree of relationship.

The family group rather than the individual or the married couple was the unit of society. Most property was owned by families, under a common head. Marriage was early, and a family group would usually consist of its head, a man who had married about twenty-five ; of his sons, who had married when he was about fifty ; and of their children. But quite

frequently the head of the family would live to see his great-grandchildren, and the family group therefore was taken as consisting of four generations. His brothers, his sons, his grandsons, his great-grandsons all had their rights in the family property, determined by custom which had the force of law. If any member of the family group incurred a fine, all members were liable for the payment of it, in degrees determined by custom. A possession which could not be divided passed from one holder in the family to another, also on principles decided by custom. In a ruling family, kingship could of course pass only to one person, but custom decreed that the nobles of his kingdom should have a right to choose the king. A king might be succeeded by his son or grandson, but his uncle, his cousin, nephew, or even grand-nephew was equally eligible, if of fit age to act as ruler in peace and chief in war. If one of two brothers became king, the sons of the other and their sons also might be chosen to succeed him. Unless the kingship came into their line by this time, that branch of the family ceased to have its claim to be chosen.

Thus a knowledge of genealogy had to be maintained or the title to most important rights would be lost ; and in Irish communities, from the earliest times of which we have any clear view, there existed a highly organised class whose business it was to preserve the records of all important family successions. This class was, in the old sense, a clergy —a class of clerks, or learned persons ; and they had several functions which grew naturally out of one another. The first may well have been that of the bards. In Ireland, as among the Celts everywhere, warriors delighted after feasting to hear songs relating warlike deeds, especially those of their own tribe. Men were found who could remember with exceptional fidelity what had been put into metre, and this became a profession allied to that of composing the songs. Cæsar tells us that the Gauls of history had trained reciters who could carry in their mind an incredible number of poems. When the institution was fully developed among the Irish, an ollave or chief poet was bound to know by heart two hundred and fifty of the chief stories and one hundred of the secondary romances. For this perfection a training of twelve years was held necessary.

To the same class of trained memorists fell naturally the duty of transmitting genealogical records and also the memory

and succession of leading events in the history of the clan. In the system of professional training, the school itself was a check on tradition. Each man had to repeat what he had learnt in the presence of rivals who would be eager to detect a departure from what had been taught to themselves.

It is not likely that there was any record in writing before Patrick's coming. The Ogham script was in use, an invention of the Irish Gaels, but based upon the Latin alphabet, having, with only two exceptions, the same vowels and consonants, though the symbols were quite different. But as a means of preserving any long composition this script would be very clumsy ; and probably the early Irish, like the early Greeks, relied on the memory of their bards, who as a class acquired a standing next to that of the rulers, owing to the importance of their functions.

Another cause of their importance was that they transmitted the law—that is to say, the judgments which from time to time were delivered by the kings. So it became natural that before a king or ruler gave judgment he should consult the living record of what had been decided in previous cases ; and thus the learned in poetry and history became recognised also as authorities upon law and advisers upon judgment. With development of culture, specialisation took place ; the poet was marked off from the chronicler, and both from the brehon or judge and lawyer.

Almost certainly these different duties of the learned were connected with the Druid organisation, which probably gave to Ireland such unity as it possessed in pre-Christian times. The same ideas of religion and the same principles of law appear to have been accepted through the whole country. We know very little of the religion of pagan Ireland, because the Christian clergy did their utmost to blot out all memory of it. But it seems clear that Patrick had the wisdom to leave the framework of this organisation standing, though its use was limited to literary and historic purposes. In the earlier romances the Druids figure especially as prophets ; we hear little of poets, though it is taken for granted that each division of an army has its own bards and musicians who entertain the warriors after they have eaten and before they sleep. There is no mention of judges to assist the king, and very little talk of the king as judge. The will of the king over his kingdom, the will of the leader over his men, so far as each

can enforce it, is really the law ; but in this early period action is represented as enormously controlled by the tradition of *Geasa*—that is to say, what it is forbidden, or tabu, for a certain man to do. It is this element which makes the old Irish romances strange and difficult of comprehension ; yet it is only another way of attempting to account for what seems unaccountable in human affairs, and the Greeks attempted the same by stories of the special malice or ill-will of the gods. If the Greek inventions seem to us less fantastic, it is because all modern European culture is under the influence of the Greek mind. One cannot read the early Irish romances without feeling that the Gaelic mind as represented by them was as unlike our own as, for instance, that of Japan. Ireland was not yet part of the Europe which has been modelled after the ideas of Greece and Rome.

Nevertheless, the distance which divided Ireland from their influences lessened rapidly after the Gaelic conquest. If we assume that Maeve ruled in Cruachan, the capital of Connaught, and Conachar in Emania about the time of Christ's life, it is clear that some knowledge at least of the Roman world must have reached these rulers. Gaul was by then subjugated and had adapted itself to Roman civilisation. The Roman armies had reached Britain, and between Britain and Ireland there was easy intercourse. Rome knew of Ireland from Cæsar's time, but, judging from a reference to it in A.D. 40, little was known more than its situation. With the opening up of Gaul and the permanent conquest of Britain there must have been increased movement of commerce northward and westwards. Tacitus, writing in 100 A.D., says that the Irish harbours and the approaches to it were better known " through commerce and merchants " than those of Britain.

Some generations after the flourishing of King Conachar in Emania, there is tradition of a revolution in which the older rent-paying peoples rose against their Gaelic rulers and killed out all males of the nobility. But the wife of a king escaped to Britain with her unborn son. Born in Britain, he in course of time returned, restored the Gaelic ascendancy and ruled as Tuathal Teachtmhar. Fourth in succession from him was Conn of the Hundred Battles, whose date may be given as about 150 A.D.

Conn's great opponent in Ireland was Mogh Nuadat, and

tradition relates that after many battles they decided on a division of Ireland, following the Esker Riada or line of gravelly hillocks (still called eskirs) which runs across the central boggy plain from near Dublin to Maaree on the bight of Galway Bay. From that time onward the northern half of Ireland, marked off by this natural way, along which ran the Slighe Mor, chief road from east to west, was called Leath Cuinn (Conn's Half), and the southern Leath Mogha.

To ratify the settlement, Oilill Olom, son of Mogh Nuadat, married Conn's daughter. By her he had sons, of whom the elder was Eoghan, the younger Cormac Cas. The tradition is that Oilill Olom decreed that the sovereignty of Munster should pass alternately from the descendants of Eoghan to those of Cormac Cas.

According to Professor MacNeill, these stories are the work of later invention. But we come to the verge of clear history when we reach Cormac Mac Art, grandson of Conn the Hundred Fighter. With him really begins the High Kingship.

All these rulers who dominated Leath Cuinn, from Tuathal Teachtmhar onwards, were kings of Connaught. Ulster had lost the ascendancy which it appears to have possessed in the days of the Red Branch, and Connaught was now growing in power. Tuathal extended its frontier across the Shannon to the Hill of Usnach, the central point of Ireland, about ten miles west of Mullingar. This was an encroachment upon the kingdom of North Leinster. Other rulers extended it till Cormac Mac Art actually pushed conquest eastward so far that he occupied Tara and expelled its king. The Fifth, which had been North Leinster, ceased to exist; but very soon the new territories which Connaught had acquired east of the Shannon got the general name of Meath, a new kingdom with Tara for its seat of government.

Southern Leinster continued to exist as a separate state; but Cormac imposed a heavy tribute on all Leinster, north and south. This claim created a feud in Ireland which lasted for many centuries. Leinster was always hostile to the usurping power that now ruled in Tara and put special burdens on the conquered Leinstermen.

All Irish tradition regards Cormac's reign as marking an epoch. "It was he that established law rule and direction for each science," say the *Annals of the Four Masters*, "and for each covenant according to propriety, and it is his laws

that governed all that adhered to them to the present time." In short, Cormac was held to have fixed the framework of Irish government as it was known in early historic times. He was the High King, and to him the provincial kings paid tribute and rendered service, while he made to them in return a payment, by acceptance of which they acknowledged his lordship. In the same way, each provincial king had within his province many petty kingdoms, each of which was a tuath or territory. For every tuath there was a *ri*, head in war, chief judge, sole ruler, but bound to rule according to custom. He rendered service to the provincial king and took wages from him, as was done in the higher degree; and it would seem that the smaller kingdoms were older than the provincial, as certainly the provincial kingdoms were before the High Kingship.

There is no reasonable doubt that Cormac is a historic figure, but surrounded by a whole cloud of legend. Christian tradition insists that he turned to worship of the true God, "wherefore a devil attacked him at the instigation of the Druids and gave him a painful death," choking him with a salmon bone. But this is only a small offset to the great mass of pagan legend which centres about Cormac's rule in Tara, as legends of the Cuchulain cycle centred round Conachar Mac Nessa's rule in Emania. It was in Cormac's day that the Fianna flourished, whose commander was Finn Mac Cool; their chief heroes, Ossian, son of Finn, Oscar, son of Ossian, Caoilte, Goll Mac Morna, and the rest, are celebrated in a hundred romances which still retain their hold on the popular mind wherever Irish is a living speech. The whole atmosphere of these romances is charged with fable; yet behind it lies the historic fact that these were a *fian*, signifying, says Professor MacNeill, "a band of fighting men, not merely a band of men called out upon occasion for military service, but a permanent fighting force." They were a military organisation of a new type, in the hands of kings who were giving a new sense to the word kingship—of whom Cormac is the chief figure. Probably it was by means of them that a strong central power, the High Kingship, established itself; and probably too the conception was inspired by knowledge of the Roman world. Rome was able to conquer Gaul and the Germans because it brought a trained permanent soldiery against loosely organised warriors; and the lesson was certain

to be learnt ; just as in the nineteenth century a Zulu chief, Cetewayo, modelled a force on what he had learnt of European drill and rose to extraordinary power.

The Fianna were fighters on foot, all specially trained, and all trained together ; it was their duty not only to make war against enemies in Ireland at the king's will, but also to defend the shores of Ireland against foreign enemies.

Standing armies have always been a danger to the power which should control them, and especially so in early phases of development. The Fianna became a rival power to the throne, and in the day of Cormac's son Carbery the issue was fought out in a desperate battle at Gowra, now the Hill of Skreen, near Tara, where Carbery fell, but the Fianna were destroyed.

The monarchy, now seated in Tara, was not shaken by this struggle. But its kings, ruling Connaught as their own traditional inheritance, and North Leinster by right of conquest, and imposing tribute on the surviving kingdom of South Leinster, had still a rival power in Ulster. Half a century after Cormac's death, three princes of the Royal house, the Collas, undertook conquest in the north. They captured Emania and destroyed it, about 330 A.D. ; they won a territory in the centre of Ulster comprising what is now the counties of Armagh and Monaghan, with part of Tyrone and Derry. This was termed henceforth the kingdom of Oriel, that is Oirghialla, " the eastern subjects," so called because the home of this monarchy still lay west in Connaught. What is now the county of Donegal was left unconquered for half a century, till the reign of a famous king, Niall of the Nine Hostages. His three sons—Eoghan, Conall Gulban, and Enda—conquered this territory and divided it ; the peninsula between Lough Foyle and Lough Swilly was called Inishowen, Inis Eoghain ; the tract between the River Foyle and the River Swilly was Tir-enda, Enda's Land ; the rest of the country was Tir Conaill. About the same time Niall's brother Brian annexed those parts of Cavan and Leitrim which had belonged to the Fifth of Ulster. The name Ulaidh (often latinised Ulidia) was now given only to the eastern corner, including part of Louth, County Down, and most of Antrim.[1] Except for it, the kings of Tara now controlled all

[1] The names Ulster, Leinster, Munster are of Danish origin. *Stadr*, meaning province or district, was affixed : Ulaidhstadr, Mumhanstadr, Laigheanstadr.

Leath Cuinn, and south of the dividing line they claimed tribute from Leinster. But the rest of the country was under a power as strong as their own.

In Munster the dominant people were originally the Erainn—that is, the people of Eriu, or, in its genitive form, Eireann, Erin. These were a non-Gaelic people; and the Gaels, approaching Ireland from the south, adopted for the whole island the name of the first large tribe they met with. For a long time after the Gaels had conquered elsewhere, the non-Gaelic kings of the Erainn continued to rule. Their race was still dominant in the time of Maeve and Conachar Mac Nessa. But at some time before St Patrick came this dynasty had been replaced by Gaelic conquerors—probably a new invasion from Gaul. These conquerors fixed their fortress at Cashel—which is the Latin word *castellum*—and may have come from a Gaul already beginning to be Romanised.

Before the fourth century the kings of Cashel had got across the Shannon, Connaught's original and natural boundary; they had annexed what is now County Clare. Cashel was in no real sense dependent on Tara; but the predominance of the High King over all Ireland was increasingly admitted.

The power of these Irish rulers now began to make itself felt outside the confines of their island. Rome was already shaking under the attacks of many barbarous peoples, and from 360 to 416 their outlying province, Britain, was being devastated by the "Scots and Picts." Scoti was the name then given to the people of Ireland; and, according to Professor MacNeill, it is the latinised form of a Gaelic word meaning The Cutters, or Reavers (just as a great organisation of the Chinese against the European was called the Boxers), and this was used as if it were the name of a people. In 404 Niall of the Nine Hostages was killed in the English Channel on board his own ship. His successor, Dathi, ruled nearly three years and then died in Gaul, struck by lightning when on a raiding expedition—according to the chroniclers, as far inland as the Alps. It must be remembered that at this time the Roman rule in Gaul was utterly broken down; the Scoti were only a small party in that pillage of civilisation by the barbarians. Yet through the results of one of these raids Roman influence was brought into Ireland and changed the whole of its history.

CHAPTER III

SAINT PATRICK'S MISSION

St Patrick's mission to Ireland is in many ways the most important event in Irish history. By a peaceful conquest it brought Ireland within the circle of that European civilisation which centred round the Roman state ; and it did so at the very moment when the whole Roman power was being broken to pieces. For fifty years the Irish had been one of the barbarous people raiding in upon the territories in which Rome had established orderly and civilised institutions. After their conversion to Christianity, the Irish " ceased to be a predatory nation," says MacNeill. But they did more than merely abstain from plundering their neighbours. They preserved Christianity and learning in a time when both were almost trampled out of existence in great parts of Europe. For three centuries Ireland was among the most peaceful regions in the western world. During that period the succession of its kings, the history of its petty local wars, has very little importance by comparison with its rapid development in civilisation. It is necessary, however, to remember certain events which concern the institution of the central monarchy.

Niall of the Nine Hostages, in whose reign Patrick was carried off from Britain, founded a dynasty in which the High Kingship was transmitted for six centuries. Dathi, who succeeded him, was his brother. After Dathi, Loegaire—that is, in modern Irish, Laoghaire ; in English, Leary—came to the throne. As High King he claimed to rule all Ireland through subordinate kings or chieftains. Among them were his three sons, Eoghan, Conall Gulban, and Enda, who had conquered a principality in the north-west and had established their stronghold at Ailech, the great circular fort of unmortared stone which still stands on the hills behind Derry, overlooking Lough Swilly, and which had been built by pre-Gaelic peoples.

It was in Leary's reign that Patrick carried out his work. Leary was succeeded as High King by his brother Ailill, King of Connaught. But Lughaidh (Lewy), son of Leary, had succeeded his father as King of Meath, and he conspired with Murtough, King of Ailech. In 483 they defeated and slew Ailill. Lughaidh became High King, but with the compact that he should be succeeded by Murtough. The kingdom of Connaught, which from the time of Cormac Mac Art had been joined to the central monarchy, was now cut off from it completely ; and until the year 1000, in the time of Brian Boru, the High Kingship was held by the Hy Neill (Niall's descendants), Kings of Meath or Kings of Ailech. For a time the monarchy did not pass regularly ; the strongest king of the moment held it. But gradually a fixed usage grew, and from A.D. 700 to 1000 the High Kingship was held alternately by the northern and southern branch, with only one exception to the regularity.

Within the three peaceful centuries which followed Ireland's conversion to Christianity the claim of the Hy Neill to sovereignty was never disputed in war, nor did either branch attempt to secure a monopoly of the right. Nor did the High Kings seek to convert their supremacy into a really strong central government.

No kingdom, great or small, which was governed by a lineal branch of this ruling family paid tribute to the High King, though it was bound to furnish him a contingent in war. The other kings owed tribute to the king at Tara, official seat of the High Kings ; they received also a payment from him, as evidence that they were in his service. It is not probable that this system, though laid down in elaborate detail, was accurately carried out. But the ascendancy of the Hy Neill was a reality.

The Leinstermen, however, fought hard and long to recover their territory. The feud between them and the usurping ruler of Tara was permanent. King Leary refused Christianity because he said that he meant, when he died, to be buried upright in the ramparts of Tara, with his face towards the Leinstermen, " by reason of the hardness with which he hated them " ; and he was so buried. Fifteen battles between the Hy Neill and Leinster are recorded within sixty-five years up to 517, when the Leinstermen finally accepted defeat ; but they kept their hatred. With this exception, there were from

Patrick's time to the Danish invasions no wars in Ireland having a serious character with a continuous purpose. Among the Irish, as among all the peoples of Europe outside the Roman peace, and as in Europe during great part of the feudal times, war on a small scale was regarded as natural and usual ; rulers pursued it almost as a sport ; it had no purpose other than booty, or the enlargement of some ruler's personal sway. There were plenty of such bickerings in Ireland, but they did not disturb the growth of civilisation, nor greatly affect the tenure of power.

In Ulster, however, the northern Hy Neill kept extending their boundaries southward into what is now Tyrone, and was then part of the kingdom known as Oriel. They spread east, too, across County Derry towards the Bann, and over it ; here they came into collision with the Picts, who still owned Dalaradia, one of the four sub-kingdoms into which the remaining Ulaidh or Ulidia was broken. Dalaradia was the inland tract between Lough Neagh and the Antrim mountains. The seaboard region, which we now call the Glens of Antrim, was the kingdom of Dal-Riada. This also was conquered by chieftains of the northern Hy Neill, descendants of Conall Gulban. Its limits were too small for them, so they crossed the sea and founded one of the strongest colonies that the world has known.

In the fifth century nearly all of Alba, which we now call Scotland, was held by the Picts—who still kept their own tongue. There was a British region, part of the Roman state, in the south of the country, about the Clyde, perhaps extending east to the Firth of Forth. Irish settlers too had swarmed across the channel and were probably thick along the west of Argyllshire, where the distance from Ireland is less than twenty miles. But there was no organised Gaelic state in Alba till in A.D. 470 Fergus Mac Erc, King of Dalriada, crossed over and established his kingship on the eastern shore. For three hundred years his successors ruled on both sides of the Irish Channel as Kings of Dalriada ; then, in the break-up caused by the Scandinavian invasions, they lost their hold on the territory in Ireland. But long before this the new conquest had become the main part of their possessions, and they ruled from Alba—of which country they finally became complete masters, defeating Picts and Britons, Angles and Norsemen.

The Alban kingdom spoke the Irish language and belonged to the Irish civilisation. But it differed from the Irish state in one way: Fergus and his successors established a single monarchy. In Ireland the rulers of quite small territories had the title and the pretensions of kings: the tuath was generally equivalent to a modern barony. Probably this arose from the fact that the prehistoric Gaelic conquest in Ireland was carried by separate small groups, each under its own leaders. It is clear that from the time of Cormac Mac Art onwards, the ablest rulers in Ireland knew the evils of this system and tried to centralise power. They never succeeded; the tradition of local independence was too strong, and for a long period the need for unity was not sharply felt. But Fergus Mac Erc in the fifth century went across the channel as a conqueror with the ideal of a central power clear in his mind, and he and his successors carried it out. This unity of command saved Scotland from many evils to which Ireland was exposed.

The race which by the close of the fifth century had spread out of Ireland into Scotland, and had also colonised the Isle of Man, were known to themselves as the Gaels, but to the Latin-speaking world as the Scoti. Yet the original significance of this name, given when they were Reavers, breaking up the Roman peace in Gaul and Britain, was by this time entirely forgotten. The change is mainly due to the work of one man, the Roman Patrick; and that work would never have been done had he not been himself a Reaver's captive. It is best to tell the story of Saint Patrick so far as may be in his own words; since scholars are agreed that the principal writings attributed to him are genuine.

The Confession, or account of his spiritual life, begins:

"I, Patrick, a sinner, the most rustic, and the least of all the faithful, and in the estimation of very many deemed contemptible, had for my father Calpurnius, a deacon, the son of Potitus, a presbyter, who belonged to the village of Bannaventa Berniæ; for close thereto he had a small villa when I was made a captive. At the time I was barely sixteen years of age. I knew not the true God; and I was led to Ireland in captivity with many thousand persons according to our deserts, for we turned away from God and kept not His commandments, and we were not obedient to the priests who used to admonish us about our salvation."

Some say that Patrick's home was at Dumbarton on the Clyde, some that it was in South Wales : we cannot be certain. As to the place where he was a captive, he himself does not inform us. But all the Lives of him written in Ireland agree that he was sold to Milchu, petty King of Dalaradia ; and that he was a swineherd on the western slopes of Slemish, his master's dun being in the valley of the Braid, which runs west from Slemish into Lough Neagh. Others think, however, that he spent three years away in the far west, near Ballina. He himself is only concerned to tell us the facts of his spiritual history ; for the first convert that he made was himself.

" After I came to Ireland, daily I herded flocks and often during the day I prayed. Love of God and His fear increased more and more, and my faith grew and my spirit was stirred up so that in a single day I said as many as a hundred prayers, and at night likewise, though I abode in the woods and in the mountains. Before the dawn I used to be aroused to prayer in snow and frost and rain, nor was there any tepidity in me, such as I now feel, because then the spirit was fervent in me.

"And there truly one night I heard in my sleep a voice saying : ' Thou fastest well, thou art soon to go to thy fatherland ! ' And again after a little time I heard the divine voice saying to me : ' Lo, thy ship is ready,' and it was not near at hand but distant about two hundred miles. And I had never been there nor had I knowledge of any person there. And therefore after a little I betook myself to flight, and left the man with whom I had been for six years, and I came in the strength of God who prospered my way for good."

When he found the promised ship, its heathen captain and crew after some difficulty agreed to take him. Their voyage lasted three days, and the cargo which they carried consisted of dogs—presumably the famous Irish wolfhounds. Three days' sail from any part of Ireland to the Continent must have meant a landing somewhere in France, and we come upon a single statement which helps us to realise what Europe was like in those days. Northern Gaul had been Romanised for five hundred years. It had come to be practically on a level with Italy in civilisation before the barbarians broke in. But by this time—about 410 A.D.—such ruin had been made by the Vandals and Suabians and others before them that Patrick tells us that he and his companions for twenty-eight days journeyed through a desert and food failed them. " And

one day the ship master said to me: 'What sayest thou, Christian? Thy God is great and almighty, why then can you not pray for us, for we are in danger of starvation?'" Then Patrick told them to turn their hearts earnestly to God, to whom nothing is impossible. "Suddenly a herd of swine appeared in the road," and they killed many of them, and "the dogs also were sated, for many of them had fainted and were left half-dead by the way." This enabled the travellers to reach their destination, and two months later Patrick contrived to escape from his companions, who were holding him as their slave. After a certain time he got back to his family in Britain, "who earnestly besought me that after so many tribulations which I had endured, I should never go away from them." This means clearly that he had already the missionary impulse, against which they strove. But his mission would not let him go; his sleep was haunted. "I saw in a vision of the night a man coming as if from Ireland with very many letters. And he gave one of them to me, and I read the beginning of the letter purporting to be the 'Voice of the Irish,' and while I was reading at the beginning of the letter I thought that at that moment I heard the voices of them who dwelt beside the wood of Focluth, which is by the western sea, and this they cried, as if with one mouth: 'We beseech thee, holy youth, to come and walk once more amongst us.' And I was greatly touched in heart and could read no more, and so I awoke. Thanks be to God, that after very many years the Lord granted to them according to their earnest cry."

Fourteen of those years were passed by Patrick in training himself. He went to Auxerre to study, and difficulties met him. Irish had grown more familiar to him than his native tongue. "My speech and style are changed into the tongue of the stranger," he says; and he was always, up till old age, painfully conscious that better educated men scoffed at his "rusticity" and rude Latin—which is indeed very clumsy and ungrammatical. He seems to have known very little but the Bible and the heart of man.

It must be understood that before Patrick's day there were Christians in Ireland, most of them probably in the south, which lay nearer Christian Europe. A fellow-student of his at Auxerre, called in Latin Iserninus, was a native of Leinster. In 431 A.D. Pope Celestine decided to send a bishop to take

charge of the scattered Christians in that country, and the deacon Palladius was consecrated bishop and sent there. Of his work very little is known; he died within the year. Patrick, who was already preparing to join the mission, was now consecrated bishop to take charge of it. Thus he came to Ireland with the full authority of Rome.

It is said that he landed, where Palladius also had landed and begun his work, at the mouth of the Wicklow River, then much used as a haven; but that he moved thence northwards, touching at the little island of Inishpatrick, off Skerries, and thence to Strangford Lough. Here Dicuil, owner of the land where he disembarked, became a convert, and granted to Patrick the site on which he established his first place of worship in a wooden barn. Saul (that is Sabhall, the barn) still keeps the name. He founded other churches here, and there is a picturesque legend concerning his visit to his old master at Slemish. But these are small matters compared with the importance of a step which he took almost at once. He pushed straight for Tara itself. The king's Druids, it is said, had foretold his coming, and wrought magic against him, but he defeated their magic by miracles of his own. The essential point is that Patrick won. Leary the king refused to be converted, but he gave toleration to the new faith; his brother Conall was baptised and gave to Patrick his own dun by the Meath Blackwater as a site for a church. Here was built the Domnach Mor or Great Church, measured out by Patrick himself. It was only sixty feet long. Others of Leary's kindred were baptised also; and among the earliest converts was Duffach, the chief poet of Ireland, who, according to Irish usage, was a high officer of the High King's court.

Patrick knew Ireland. He realised the esteem in which their poets and historians were held by the Irish people, and both he and the Church which he founded determined to get the learned class on their side. The Druids were bound to be his antagonists, and he did his best to efface the very memory of Druidism from Ireland, forbidding as an accursed thing all the working of magic and invocation of demons. But by giving as much honour to the learned as they were accustomed to receive, and by showing a new scope for their talents, he contrived to win them. This was part of his wisdom. He utilised whatever good thing he found existing, and made Christianity adapt itself to all that was not repugnant to its

principles. In Britain, and still more in Gaul, the Church as he had known it was organised about the Roman municipal system. In Ireland the whole system was tribal, and he seems to have realised from the first that his mission must be addressed to the tribe chiefs or petty kings and the greater kings, to whom these in their turn looked up. He knew also that each separate tribe was very jealous of its own independence. Because he found a profusion of secular rulers in Ireland, he had to make a profusion of spiritual rulers. He is said to have ordained three hundred and fifty bishops. Inconveniences resulted, but it is more than probable that the work would not have advanced so quickly had not each tribal grouping been given its own spiritual head. Interference in another tribe's boundaries was strictly forbidden. A bishop had charge only of those churches which he had founded or of which he had been put in charge, and his ministrations were naturally directed to his own people.

This may be called policy ; but Patrick's conciliation of the learned men and poets was wisdom. He neither despised nor distrusted the culture that had come to them from heathen sources. It is clear that he valued learning ; no man who did not would have been so sensitive as he shows himself to the reproach of ignorance. Unlearned as he was, few men have done so much to forward learning. We read again and again that at a stage in his missionary journeys "he wrote an alphabet." This was an elementary religious catechism, in Latin ; it was left for an instruction in Christianity, in the Latin language, and in reading or writing. Patrick made reading and writing common in Ireland ; he made a knowledge of Latin common, and Latin was then the necessary key to whatever knowledge western Europe possessed.

Latin learning and written literature were at first the province of the Church. But the poets preserved (MacNeill says) "the druidical system of education and the privileges of the druidical order." They were a second, a non-Christian but not anti-Christian, clergy.

Tradition indicates that this civilising influence of Patrick's work was appreciated. It is told that King Leary, who would not be a Christian, called in the Christian missionary for help and counsel in a great work. He decided to bring together in a written code the laws of Ireland. A body of nine was appointed, consisting of three kings—Leary himself, the King

of Munster, and the King of Ulster; three ollave poets who were also learned in the law, Duffach being one of these; and three bishops—Patrick, Benen, and Carnach. Carnach was a Briton, one of the company who came with Patrick. But Benen was a young Irishman, the first Irish disciple to whom Patrick gave ordination and tonsured for the Church.

This code of laws, known as the Senchus Mor, is preserved, and, though it has no doubt been altered in many respects, there is little reason to doubt that a code was originally framed by these nine men in 439.

If this be so, it means that Leary accepted the fact that Ireland was becoming Christian, and was wise enough to see that the laws must be brought into conformity with the new creed; and also that Patrick, in order to get the authority of native law and custom on his side, agreed to admit certain principles that differed from the general law of the Roman Empire and from the interpretation of most Christian states. This was especially true of the law which laid down that killing should be atoned for by a fine, legally fixed—as was the usage in Ireland so long as the native law lasted. This principle has been common to many countries It was followed through all Scandinavia throughout the Middle Ages; and although it has been described as barbarous, it is less so than the excessive use of capital punishment characteristic of English law, under which even in the nineteenth century pocket-picking or sheep-stealing was punishable with death.

But undoubtedly Patrick took part in creating a Christian state different in type from that in which he had been brought up. He did not attempt to substitute another system for that to which the Irish were accustomed. He endeavoured to develop what was best in their own institutions, avoiding all unnecessary conflict, and recognising that in all codes there are "judgments of just nature." He built, in short, on the fundamental idea of justice, which is common to humanity, and not solely on special applications of it. The result was that the Christianity and the civilisation which developed from the work of this Roman missionary were absolutely and distinctly Irish.

That is one of the secrets of Patrick's success. Another is the prestige of Rome. The Irish, though they lay outside the Roman world, were in contact with it, and the first "Irish Brigade" that ever existed served in Roman armies. We

hear in the fourth century of the Scotti Primi (First Irish Guards), as also of regiments of the Atecotti, who are thought to be bodies drawn from the non-Gaelic military tribes. In Patrick's life Leary's predecessor Dathi met death in Gaul while leading his forces in support of the Roman general Ætius. Leary himself, who appears to have been a very wise king, knew that Roman power was receding; the Roman armies were withdrawn from Britain twenty years before Patrick came to Tara. But he knew also that Rome's government had exceeded in power and cultivation anything else in the western world; and he may have welcomed Roman culture more readily because Roman arms had ceased to be a menace.

In the midst of his work Patrick left Ireland to journey to Rome that he might report to the recognised centre of Christendom, whence he had his mission; and he came back bearing what were the greatest treasures for an ecclesiastic, relics of great sanctity. It is thought that possibly as a result of instructions from the Pope, he endeavoured to introduce unity and discipline by the establishment of a central ecclesiastical authority. The High King had refused to be a convert, and Tara was therefore out of the question; he fixed the primacy of Ireland at Armagh, which was the seat of that Ulidian nobility so famous in Irish legend. Land was granted to him by Daire, King of Oriel, then the largest of the kingdoms into which Ulster had been broken up. Thus by a curious chance the metropolis of Irish Christianity was neither in the territory of the Northern or the Southern Hy Neill; but it was in Leath Cuinn, the northern half of Ireland, over which the dynasty ruling at Tara had real power.

Patrick's work in Ireland lasted twenty-nine years, from 432 to 461, when he died, it is said, at Saul, where his first church was founded, and was buried, it is said, at Armagh. What is certain is that Patrick the Briton always thought of himself as a Roman, expatriated, living and dying among strangers for the service of Christ. This is plain from his *Confession*, the account of his life's work written in old age, and addressed not to Ireland but to the Roman-British community from which he had gone out. It is plain too from his *Epistle to Coroticus*, a British king, probably from the Clyde, whose soldiers had made a raid on the Irish coast, and, falling on an assembly of Patrick's converts gathered for

baptism, had killed many and captured others. He says in it :—

" I, Patrick, the sinner unlearned, no doubt : I confess that I have been established a bishop in Ireland. And so I dwell in the midst of barbarous heathens, a stranger and exile for the love of God. . . . With mine own hand have I written and composed these words to be given and sent to the soldiers of Coroticus—I do not say to my fellow-citizens or to the fellow-citizens of the holy Romans, but to fellow-citizens of demons because of their evil works. In hostile guise they are dead while they live, allies of the Scots and apostate Picts, as though wishing to gorge themselves with the blood of innocent Christians whom I in countless numbers begot to God and confirmed in Christ. On the day following that on which the newly baptised in white array were anointed with the chrism—it was still gleaming on their foreheads while they were cruelly butchered and slaughtered—I sent a letter with a holy presbyter, whom I taught from his infancy, with some clerics, to request that they would allow us some of the booty or of the baptised captives whom they had taken. They jeered at him. Wherefore let every man that feareth God know that aliens they are from me and from Christ my God, for whom I am an Ambassador. . . . Did I come to Ireland without God or according to the flesh ? Who compelled me—I am bound by the spirit—not to see any one of my kinsfolk ? Is it from me that I show godly compassion towards that nation who once took me captive and harried the men-servants and maid-servants of my father's house ? I was free-born according to the flesh. I am born of a father who was a decurion, but I sold my nobility, I blush not to state it, nor am sorry for it, for the profit of others."

These are the passages (taken from Archbishop Healy's translation) which best give the living man. Most of the rest is a fierce denunciation, and the letter ends with an injunction that it shall be read " in the presence of all the people, yea, in the presence of Coroticus himself." In Ireland, as everywhere else in the dark ages, priests and bishops frequently made active representations for redress of injustice to the ruling power. They were spokesmen for the people, claiming to speak with authority. Patrick here speaks as to one of his own people, and of his own faith. Many times in the following centuries Irish successors of his spoke on

similar occasions to Irish kings, and this letter gives us a picture of the time.

It shows us too that the work in Ireland was no way complete. Much had to be done and under very different conditions. Patrick attempted to bring Ireland within Christendom, which to him meant the organised Christian society of which the Roman Empire was the framework. But in the years of Ireland's conversion, Christendom was falling to pieces ; the Church which Patrick had founded was cut off from Christendom and left to stand by itself. Patrick's mission while he lived was continually reinforced by supporters from Britain and France ; the native Irish Christians had to carry on their work without support from Christian Europe ; and at last they had to bring back to Britain and to continental Europe the religion and the learning which had been brought to them by the Roman Patrick.

CHAPTER IV

THE IRELAND OF SAINTS AND SCHOLARS

THE Church which Patrick founded remained the chief civilising agency in Ireland. Historians distinguished in its early period three Orders of Saints. The first Order comprises St Patrick and his companions, most of whom were Gauls or Britons, and many of whom were bishops. They were entirely occupied with missionary work, and spent their time moving about the country founding churches and organising an ordinary secular clergy. The second Order had few bishops but many priests, and they lived mostly as monks, not going abroad in the world—though, as will be seen, their leading men were powers in the State. These men were the great founders of centres of learning. The third Order consisted of men who concentrated their energy on the pursuit of personal holiness by fasting and scholarly meditation—anchorites, living in conditions of incredible hardship. But it must be remembered that during the period of the third Order the colleges and monastic institutions which the second Order had founded were still going on zealously and faithfully with their work.

St Patrick himself appears to have founded what eventually came to be the chief of all these schools—that of Armagh ; and his disciple, the young bishop Benen, or Benignus, was its first head. Saint Brigid, born in 450 A.D., first and chief of the women saints of Ireland, founded a convent at Kildare, beside which grew up a monastery for monks ; and here was also a great centre of religious culture. Yet for the spread of Christian learning other schools had more importance—especially those of St Enda in Aran, of St Finnian at Clonard, of St Kieran at Clonmacnoise, and the group of schools founded by St Columba.

Saint Enda, born about 450, was son of the King of Oriel.

His elder sister had been converted by Patrick, and became a nun ; and she advised Enda that he should seek religious training in a British monastery. Returning consecrated for his mission, he set an example which influenced all the devout Irish, by deliberately pushing out into the least civilised region he could find. From the King of Munster, whose wife was Enda's sister, he got a grant of the Aran Islands, off Galway Bay, and here on Aranmore he established his settlement and lived to a great age. Nearly all the Irish saints of the second Order spent part of their novitiate here, living as a community which provided by its own labours for its own simple needs, and was directed in its prayers and studies by Enda himself.

Aran was a centre rather of the religious life than of learning. St Finnian was the founder of the first ecclesiastical school that spread knowledge widely. He was a Leinster noble by birth, and he was brought up under the care of Fortchern, King Leary of Tara's grandson, one of the earliest princely converts. He was trained further in Wales, under St David and St Gildas ; then returning to Ireland founded various churches before at last he fixed himself permanently at Clonard on the Boyne. Here he lived the life of a hermit, practising extraordinary austerities ; and the fame of his sanctity gathered disciples. These he instructed along with the young, and leaders of other communities flocked to him. It is said that as many as three thousand disciples were together at his school. Here they lived like soldiers in a permanent camp. Huts were easily put up, in the fashion then used, of upright posts planted in a circle, with wattled osiers or hazel rods laced in between and daubed with clay, having a conical roofing of the same kind, either thatched or covered with sods. The little church would be more solidly built, but of wood ; timber was everywhere to hand except in such wind-swept treeless places as Aran, where the building was done with unmortared stone.

Thus the type of Christianity which developed itself in Ireland, owing to the scattered way of life among the people, and to something in the Irish character, was monastic, not secular. Its work, that is to say, was carried out, not by individual priests appointed as ministers to a marked-out section of the countryside, ruled by a bishop having also his defined territory, but rather by communities planted in some locality,

from which priests went out to minister, and to which the faithful came for their devotions. The head of these communities was not a bishop but an abbot. He was called the Coarb, or successor, of the founder. Only bishops could give ordination, and there were always bishops within reach of and often attached to the community. But the Coarb of a great monastery was far more important than the bishop. The heads of religious communities, not the heads of dioceses, played the important part in influencing Irish civilisation.

This assembling of communities introduced a new way of life into Ireland. It was not municipal, for there were no families ; women were rigidly excluded. But it was something more like a city than Ireland had yet known. The old Irish way of life (which was probably that of all the Aryan people in these early stages) can probably best be realised by observing some of the most primitive and Irish-speaking communities that survive, in such places as the West Donegal and Connemara coast. Here are not villages, not collections of houses with streets, but roughly built cottages in large numbers close together—each having some cultivated land immediately about it. Sometimes there is a larger tract of ploughland unfenced but divided into many holdings. Beyond the area on which houses are built is a wide tract of common land, on which each family has certain rights of pasture. The people of such districts to-day know one another as men of the Rosses, men of Iveragh, or the like. In older times they would have known each other as part of a common clan or sept. The land was one aspect of the bond among them, but there was also the tie of blood and of traditional association. Up to the present day a family acquiring land in any Irish-speaking district will be regarded as strangers after fifty years ; not as ordinary natives of the district, which is also the community. Everybody in such a community lives much the same life. There are richer and poorer, but each household suffices to itself. There will be a few skilled tradesmen, a smith certainly, perhaps a carpenter, and such craftsmen were part of the life of pre-Christian Ireland as described to us. But in the Irish-speaking district of to-day there is, as there was in early Ireland, very little organised division of labour such as town life produces.

This new principle of dividing labour, and so specialising it, began to come into Ireland when tracts of land were granted

to these new communities. It was no new thing to make such grants for the endowment of learning. The Druids must have been so provided for ; and in Christian times the poets and learned men who inherited the position of the Druids held such grants, though their living was supplemented by other payments. They, however, occupied the land they held like anyone else ; it belonged to them, or rather to their family group. The new communities occupied it in a different way. The land, and the fisheries generally attached to their establishments, were worked in common to provide for all. It was occupation by a community, not by families. Certain members of the community could be set apart to other work—and one of the most important was producing the books which are the learner's outfit. Writing became a skilled industry, which developed into an art. Other things had to be made too, bells, sacred vessels, cases for choice books ; the heathen Irish had attained to great skill in wrought-metal work. This craft also was an art, and Fortchern, Finnian's early teacher, though son of a king's son, is said to have been a craftsman, and to have made chalices and patens for the new churches founded by St Patrick. Anyone coming to a community, such as that of Clonard, with skill in metal work would probably be set to work at his special craft, while others did his share of the field labour. Such men would be welcome in a community ; they might probably pass all their lives as monks. Also, if they came into this new association, it involved moving out of their own tuath or tribal district ; for these communities drew their members from all over Ireland. In that sense the collegiate towns were more like cities than anything Ireland had yet known, for cities are less tribal than agricultural communities.

Famous among these centres was Clonmacnoise, ten miles below Athlone, on the bank of the Shannon. St Kieran founded it in 544. He had studied at Clonard, and in Aran, and he was extraordinarily beloved. He came to Clonmacnoise, a tract of firm grass land, with the river in front and vast expanses of red bog behind cutting it off from all other places ; and he lived only four months after founding his institution. But it became the parent of a hundred churches, and the burying-ground of kings who enriched it with gifts and lands, because St Kieran's sanctity was held to give a special chance of salvation to those who shared his place of

resurrection ; and it trained scholars who went out all over Europe.

The most characteristic and important Irish personality in these early centuries was St Columba, or Columcille—that is, Church-dove. Of him we know a great deal. He was born about 529, at Gartan, a wild and beautiful district of Donegal ; and he was, like so many of these early saints, of royal blood. His great-grandfather was Conall Gulban, who conquered the kingdom called after him, Tyrconnell. Columba's grandmother was daughter to the King of Dalriada, who ruled both in Scotland and Antrim ; and thus, by two strains, he had in him the blood of Niall of the Nine Hostages. His mother was of the royal house of Leinster ; and the High King of Ireland was his uncle. Columba might himself have become king of the Northern Hy Neill and even High King. Both in Ireland and Gaelic Scotland his near relatives were in supreme power.

He was brought up at Kilmacrenan on the River Lennan, in the care of an old priest ; but when he came of age to go further afield, he went to the monastery of Movilla on Strangford Lough, over which was St Finnian (not to be confused with the Finnian of Clonard). Thence, it is said, he went to Leinster and joined a bardic school. All tradition represents Columba as himself a poet and the special protector of poets. Thence he went to Clonard and other monasteries, perfecting himself ; till in 545 he founded his first church, that of Derry. The site was given to him by his cousin, king of the Northern Hy Neill, whose stronghold at Ailech was only a few miles distant. In the next fifteen years Columba founded monasteries in several places throughout the northern half of Ireland, of which Kells, near Navan, and Durrow in King's County are the most famous. But his great power had made itself felt in other ways. He had quarrelled with Dermod the High King, who was of the Southern Hy Neill, and Columba persuaded his nearest kindred, the Northern Hy Neill, to make war. The hosts met at Cooldrevny, between Benbulben and the sea, and the High King was defeated.

Two reasons are given for this quarrel, both of which illustrate Irish life of that time. The first is that the High King was holding the Feast of Tara, a great ceremony which took place on special occasions—once at least in each king's reign. It was attended in the High King's honour by the

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COLBY SCHOOL FOR GIRLS

provincial kings and the ollaves or chief men of the learned professions, history, law, poetry, and medicine, and also the ollaves of the skilled crafts. There were sports of all kinds, and there were also meetings for discussion ; and to preserve the peace of the Feast, violence was forbidden under pain of death. But one noble at this Feast, which was the last ever held in Tara, quarrelled with another and killed him by the blow of a hurley club. The slayer fled to Columcille, who took him under his protection, but King Dermod refused to recognise the protection, and put the offender to death. That, according to one account, is why Columba mustered the Hy Neill clans of the north.

The other reason given is that Columba went on a visit to St Finnian of Movilla, with whom he had first studied ; and he saw in Finnian's possession a copy of the Psalter, borrowed it, and secretly (being a zealous and skilful scribe) copied it in the night. Finnian found out, and insisted that he should have the copy ; Columba refused, and the matter was referred to the High King, who gave his decree : " With every bo (cow) her boneen (little cow, calf), with every leabhar (book) its leabhareen." Columba thought the decision unjust, and made a war about it.

If neither saint comes well out of this account, the story is not the less life-like. There was much human nature about the saints, and Columba knew and admitted his frailties. But the story first of all helps us to understand how rare and coveted a book was in those days. This particular book was recovered after the Battle of Cooldrevny by Columba, and became the chief relic of Columcille in the territory of Kinel Connell ; it was kept in a case of silver overlaid with gold, and before the army of Kinel Connell (that is, the people of Tyrconnell) went into battle it was carried three times round the host to bring victory ; so that it came to be called the Cathach or Battler. Secondly, it shows how an Irish king united in himself many duties now performed by ministers. He was leader in battle ; he was also judge. But in giving his award he consulted with his brehons, who told him from their knowledge of the law what should govern his decision. It was a settled principle that a calf belonged to the owner of the cow ; Dermod applied this principle in a new way—laying down a law of copyright.

Thirdly and chiefly, the story illustrates the power of the

great churchmen. But it has a sequel which proves that this power might easily be resented. After the Battle of Cooldrevny, some say by decree of a synod, some say by another saint whom he counselled, Columba was bidden to leave Ireland, in which he had caused so much bloodshed. In 563 he set out from Derry for Western Scotland, the country in which his other kinsfolk ruled. The King of Dalriada granted to him the little island of Iona, lying off coasts which were still occupied by the heathen Picts, to whom Columcille became a missionary—the first missionary sent out from Christian Ireland.

The monastery which he founded there had in the century after his death to carry out a larger task than conversion of the Picts. When Britain was overrun by the heathen Saxon, the Britons were unwilling or powerless to spread Christianity among these fierce peoples ; and Saint Augustine's work had not extended itself beyond the south-east corner. An appeal was sent to Iona, and the monk Aidan, despatched as an apostle, founded the monastery of Lindisfarne in Northumbria. The greatest of modern English divines, Bishop Lightfoot, has summed up the result : " Augustine was the apostle of Kent, but Aidan was the apostle of England."

In leaving the Irish shores, Columba did not cease to be part of the Irish community. His monastery was recruited mainly from Ireland ; indeed, as in many cases, succession to the abbot's seat was almost hereditary in the kindred of the first founder. More than this, Columba himself returned on at least one occasion and took a leading part in Irish public affairs.

In 574 Conall, the King of Dalriada, who had granted Iona to Columba, was succeeded by Aidan, to whom at his inauguration, Columba, although only a priest, was called on to give the solemn benediction. An assembly of Ireland was called at Drumkett, near Limavady on the Roe, and to this Columba came with Aidan. There were two matters for discussion. First was the position of Dalriada in Antrim, which, as part of Ireland, was subject to the sovereignty of the High King, and as part of the new realm came under an authority over which the High King had no control. It was decided that Dalriada should be bound to serve the High King with its land forces, but that its ships should be under the command of the king who reigned in Alba. A second question was that

of the poet-class, who had grown enormously numerous and were exorbitant in their demands. An ollave poet went about with a retinue of thirty, the next grade with fifteen, and so on. They enforced their demands by the threat of composing and repeating wherever they went a satire on the refuser of what they claimed. The High King proposed to banish the poets altogether. "Columcille said to the king that it was right to set aside many of the poets, as they were so numerous. But he advised him to maintain a poet as his own chief ollave, after the example of the kings who went before him, and that each provincial king should have an ollave, and, moreover, that each lord of a cantred or district in Ireland should have an ollave." The High King agreed, "and each of these ollaves had land from his own lord. It was also ordained that a common estate should be set apart for the ollaves where they could give public instruction after the manner of a university such as Rathkenny and Masruidhe Moy Slecht in Brefny, where they gave free instruction in the sciences to the men of Ireland, as many as desired to become learned in seanchus (that is, history and poetry) and in the other sciences that were in vogue in Ireland at this time. Each poet, in addition to free land, was to get certain rewards for his poems and compositions." The appointment of ollaves to each territory was carried out by Dallan Forgaill, then high ollave of Ireland. Columcille got the credit of the whole arrangement, and his name was accordingly revered by the poets.

That is how Keating in the seventeenth century recounted the episode from a study of the old manuscripts, including many which have been lost since his day. It shows that the most typical of Irish ecclesiastics was full of the desire to maintain the traditional secular literature of his country; also that there was a public opinion which could check the growth of an ancient institution when it became excessive; and that a regular organisation of learning could be dictated by a central authority to the whole country. In other words, lay learning was regarded and was regulated as a national institution; but the regulation and the provision of it were carried out through the local governments—each government being a single ruler, who had professional advisers, but must make the decisions himself.

Owing to this encouragement of learning a great deal of

writing in the native tongue was going on, and Columba himself was among the Irish poets. Poems attributed to him have come down to us, but philologists consider that they are in an Irish of later date ; for the Irish language, while remaining the same, has changed as, for instance, Greek has changed, so that the old Irish or Greek is unintelligible to a speaker of the modern tongue without special study. But both laymen and clerics were writing in Irish on such subjects as were already traditional in Irish literature, and also on new subjects. Religious biography began. A Life of St Patrick was written in Irish in Columba's time. We have not got this, but we have the Life of Columba written in Latin by a successor of his at Iona. Some account must be given of the writer and the book, for both illustrate history.

Saint Adamnan (in modern Irish pronounced Eunan) was, like Columba, of noble northern blood, descended by both father and mother from the sons of Niall. But there existed in Ireland already the institution of " poor scholars," which lasted up till the latter part of the nineteenth century. Boys set out from their homes to some centre of instruction, and for the sake of charity were lodged and fed in some neighbouring household—rendering such service as they could in return. It seems that noble boys sometimes, as a discipline of humility, adopted this usage, and the young Adamnan went to Clonard in Meath as a poor scholar. Finachta the Festive, afterwards High King, was riding towards Clonard with his retinue when a boy with a jar of milk on his back, trying to get out of their way, stumbled, broke the jar, and lamented. " Three noble students live in one house near the college," he told Finachta, " with three of us attendants, who have to collect provisions by turns for the six ; and it was my turn today." The prince was kind to the boy, and so began a friendship between the future High King and the future Abbot of Iona.

Later in life Adamnan made friends with Aldfrid, a prince of the Northumbrian Saxons, who was a fugitive in Ireland. Ireland in the seventh century was still one of the least disturbed countries in Europe ; but its peace began to be troubled by inroads from the new conquerors of Britain. Raiding parties from England plundered Meath and carried off captives. But when the ruling King of Northumbria was killed in battle, Aldfrid succeeded him ; Adamnan, then Abbot of Iona, was

asked by his friend Finachta, the King of Ireland, to go on a mission to his friend the King of Northumbria. He succeeded, and brought back the captives; and this illustrates once more the secular power of a great ecclesiastic. But, according to tradition, Adamnan, like Columba, was not always tractable to the High King. Finachta had, as it would seem very wisely, given up the old claim, always so bitterly resented, of a special tribute from the Leinstermen. Adamnan, zealous for the traditional claims of the Hy Neill, denounced Finachta and quarrelled with him.

Adamnan had much call to move between both countries at this time, for there was a great controversy in the Irish Church. Their priesthood had adopted a form of tonsure like that of old Druids, shaving the head from ear to ear and not, like the rest of Christian Europe, in a ring on top of the head; also it kept Easter at a different date from other Churches. These divergencies had grown up in the dark ages when continental Europe was so ravaged by the barbarian inroads that Ireland was cut off from the rest of Christendom. Now Rome was resuming contact with Britain and with Ireland, and Adamnan was of those who was anxious to bring about uniformity. Yet his monks in Iona were the last stalwarts maintaining the old distinctive Gaelic usages; and perhaps for this reason Adamnan spent the last years of his life in Ireland itself. In 697 he achieved a great reform. Both women and clergy were still liable to be called out on expeditions of war. The Irish legend tells how Adamnan's mother, travelling with her son, saw a fight, and a woman on one side having a hook on a pole and the hook fixed in the breast of a woman on the opposite battalion; and Adamnan's mother sat down and swore she would never move till her son had promised that he would "free the women of Ireland from hostings and slaughter." At all events, by Adamnan's influence a convention was held at Tara which passed "Adamnan's law" exempting women from all military service, and from being slain in war. The question of the clergy was not settled for another century; and we hear more than once of one monastery going out to make war upon another. Yet throughout the first three centuries of Irish Christianity religious persons and centres of religious life practically enjoyed sanctuary and were unmolested; and, as is proved by the history both of St Columba and of Adamnan,

great men among the clergy played their full part in the life of the State.

Adamnan wrote the Life of Columba, partly from records in books, partly from the talk of old monks who had known the founder, and partly from tradition. It is very largely a record of miracles, which shows us what a highly educated man of that day believed as matter of course. But when all the miraculous element is set aside, there remains a vivid picture of Columba's personality and of the way of life which Adamnan himself followed; he lets us see rather than describes. He tells us of the saint, always cheerful of countenance, never a moment idle, always discoursing, reading, or writing, as a rule in a shed which was built for his study and made of planks, not, like the rest, of wattles and daub. There is a characteristic story of a thief who used to row across to an islet frequented by seals which the monks regarded as their property and, like the poacher, used for food. "Why do you steal?" asked the saint. "When you are in want, come to us." And he ordered a sheep to be killed and given, that the unlucky man might not go home empty-handed. There is a story too of a storm at sea, when the saint set to work actively with the rest baling; but the sailors at last told him that he would be more use to them by praying, so he prayed, and the storm went down. Many of the stories tell of strangers coming from far off, sometimes by sea, sometimes hailing the island from the shore across the narrow water. It was a solitude, yet a place of much resort, in Columba's day and after. In Iona Adamnan took down hastily on waxed tablets, and then copied out fairly on parchment, the experiences of Asculf, a Gaulish bishop, who had lived for nine months in the Holy Land. So was knowledge preserved for the community, and we still have this description of Jerusalem written in the seventh century.

Adamnan's Life of St Columba is preserved in a copy made in the Columban monastery of Durrow and possibly from Adamnan's own dictation. The book was found in the monastery of Reichenau, on the Lake of Constance, where some Irish monk must have carried it as a treasure when the Danes began to pillage. It is a good example of the special skill for which Ireland in those ages became famous.

The Irish beyond doubt took greedily to religion and to civilisation; but their achievement in both was peculiar.

Their religion marked itself by its extreme asceticism and by its strong missionary impulse ; their civilisation was mainly one of letters. It concerned itself greatly with the multiplication of books—an immense service to humanity when there was no printing press ; and as a means to it the craft of writing was perfected. Decorative instinct was strong in the Irish ; it showed itself powerfully in their wrought-metal work ; but it found its supreme expression in adorning written books. It is supposed that early missionaries brought to Ireland books written and decorated under the influence of Eastern Greeks, and that from this source the Irish acquired the tradition of interlaced scrolls. But in Irish hands this work became a new thing ; the ingenuity and beauty of the interlacing in such patterns as decorate the Book of Kells is only less amazing than the skill of execution. These books were and are veritable treasures of art, unequalled in their kind.

Yet of even more importance to civilisation was the Irish manner of writing. Print is scarcely more regular or legible. What was written in the France before Charlemagne's time is now, and always must have been, very hard to decipher. Charlemagne, a great educator, insisted that men must learn to write legibly, and his chief counsellor, Alcuin, got part of his education at Clonmacnoise ; and the training which he and all Northumbrian monks received was derived from the Irish centre established by Aidan at Lindisfarne. Irish monks came over to many places on the Continent, through Charlemagne's empire, partly as missionaries, but not less as educators and copyists, probably the best of their age.

In Ireland, as elsewhere throughout Europe, at this time civilisation was chiefly carried forward by ecclesiastics. Students from Great Britain came in such numbers that a division of the city of Armagh was called *Trian Sachsan*, the Saxon Third (or as we should say, quarter) : and these schools were kept by churchmen. For the principal nobles, in Ireland as elsewhere throughout Europe, war and government were regarded as the main occupations of life. Yet on the whole military organisation was less developed than before the advent of Christianity ; while law seems to have been developed to a remarkable degree. No one can judge from reading a code of laws as to how life is really affected by them, even in the most modern community ; but it is clear

that Irish life was minutely regulated by laws which were preserved in writing and regularly interpreted. The rights of property, both for man and woman, were clearly defined ; we find also cases laid down when the public interest must prevail over that of the individual—for instance, when water had to be led through a man's land to work a mill or when a road had to be made ; and methods of compensation were laid down. The best proof that the Brehon law gave fair justice is that when it came in competition with the English law, Irishmen always preferred to abide by it, and the English settlers generally fell in with the same custom.

As compared with Europe of the early feudal period, there is no doubt that life in Ireland was more regulated by law and less by violence and threats of violence.

In point of luxury and elegance nobody can suppose that a people who ornamented their books as we see in the Book of Durrow or the Book of Kells, did not adorn themselves and their houses. We know that they understood dyeing, and that the richer classes wore elaborate dress of many colours ; and that they had many gold ornaments and jewels. Merchants brought silks and satins, as they also brought wine, from southern Europe, taking back hides, furs, wool, butter and other provisions. Irish houses, whether of wood or wattle, were whitened outside with lime and inside were painted with designs and adorned with coloured woods ; red yew set with copper is spoken of. But in point of architecture they were very far behind other parts of Europe. They built no stone houses except the rough erections of dry stone ; nor did they build stone bridges, or make solid and permanent roads. They had never as a people been in sufficiently close contact with the material civilisation of Rome.

On the whole, in their centuries of freedom from any grave disturbance, their civilisation as individuals progressed greatly ; but their political organisation did not develop. The condition of a state with a number of petty monarchs is low in the grade of civilisation. Advance from it has been made sometimes along the line of republicanism, as in Greece and Rome ; but these republics were always based on a city life. A city must be organised as a community, and an organised community can resist and defeat a ruler. But there was no city life in Ireland. Elsewhere, especially in the Europe of the Middle Ages, progress came through the

establishment of a strong central monarchy. Ireland had gone a certain length in that direction ; but in these centuries the centralisation was lessened. First came the alternation of sovereignty between the Northern and Southern Hy Neill, which meant that a king whose kingdom was in the north might be ruler in Tara. The result was that no king really ruled in Tara. A legend grew up that Tara was deserted because of a curse put upon it by St Ruadan. There is no mention of this in the Annals, and we may be certain that it is an invention. What really happened was that after the reign of Dermod, with whom Columcille quarrelled, his territory, the kingdom of Meath, was divided between two sons, Colman and Hugh Slane. Colman got the western portion ; Hugh got Bregia—that is, the present Meath, with parts of County Dublin and Louth. Of the two lines, Clan Colman were the stronger and provided most of the High Kings ; but Tara was in Bregia. Thus the Hy Neill dynasty was broken up at its original seat of power ; and a High King from Clan Colman was always likely to have his power challenged in Tara itself. In the northern branch, a similar division set in after Columba's death. The descendants of Eoghan and the descendants of Conall had arranged the kingship between them on a friendly footing till 615, when a King of Kinel Owen attacked the ruling king of Kinel Connell, who was then High King, defeated him, and became High King in his stead. From this time the feud and rivalry of the two branches of the Northern Hy Neill were perpetual. Kinel Connell, holding all Donegal—except Inishowen, a disputed territory,—were always at enmity with Kinel Owen, holding Tyrone and County Derry. Thus there was no real central rule in the country. So long as Ireland was left to itself, no great harm resulted. But with Europe in such a state as then prevailed, no peaceful country could hope to be let alone ; and Ireland did not escape the common fate. Ireland's Golden Age ended with the coming of the Danes.

CHAPTER V

THE COMING OF THE DANES

One page in the *Annals of the Four Masters* records two events which mark the close of Ireland's Golden Age and the beginning of her adverse fortune. In 795 died Colgu the Wise, of Clonmacnoise, who was called "chief scribe and master of the Scots of Ireland." There is extant a letter to him from the Northumbrian scholar Alcuin, adviser on educational matters to Charlemagne. Alcuin had received at Clonmacnoise the literary training which brought him to Charlemagne's notice; for the great King of the Franks was busily labouring to restore education and culture in his dominions. Alcuin complains that for a considerable time he had received no letter from Colgu; he says that he feels daily need of this support; meantime, he sends news of the state of European politics. Discord between Charlemagne and Offa, King of Mid Britain, had, he says, stopped commerce and communication between France and Britain. Evidently there was direct communication with Ireland, since the letter is accompanied by a gift of fifty gold pieces from Charlemagne, with as much more, and a quantity of choice oil for use in ceremonies, from Alcuin himself.

This letter indicates that in the eighth century Ireland was fully in touch with the most advanced civilisation of the West, and rather on the footing of supplying culture than receiving it. Ireland was then, in short, a leading part of Europe; not a great Power, but a country fully abreast of its age and in some respects leading it, as Switzerland is to-day.

But on the same page of the Annals is recorded the beginning of those raids which checked Ireland's peaceful intercourse with Europe and threw back grievously the progress of its civilisation. The entry is: "The burning of

Reachrainn (Rathlin) by the foreigners ; and its shrines were broken and plundered." This was the first coming of the Norsemen.

These fierce raiders from the Baltic were not in search of plunder only ; they wanted revenge on Christianity. Charlemagne, in his conquest of the Saxon peoples in North Germany, had enforced conversion at the sword's point. Thousands, flying from what they regarded as a badge of slavery, settled in Denmark and along the Scandinavian coast-line, only to swarm out again in their ships. Lindisfarne, the famous monastery on the Northumbrian coast, whence Aidan and his Irish successors had spread Christianity through Northumbria, was destroyed before the " Gentiles " came into the Irish Sea. They reached Orkney and Shetland, settled there, and then came down the west coast of Scotland to the Hebrides, which also they made their own. The first raid on Rathlin was only a warning to Ireland ; the " foreigners " did not return for twelve years, though they were busy along the Scotch shore, pillaged Iona, and, still further south, attacked the Isle of Man. With this chain of posts behind them, they appeared in 807 on the west of Ireland ; spoiled Inishmurray, landed on the mainland and attacked Roscommon. Five years later, still on the west, they raided at several points from Killary to Dingle Bay, and fought with varying fortune. In 819 they made their appearance on the east coast, about Benn Edair, which they called Howth, and Loch Garmain, which they called Wexford. Next year they were on the south, at Cork. This is all that the annalists tell us ; and it is clear that for the first twenty years there was no permanent settlement ; also that there was no organised opposition. Resistance was offered, but it was offered by sections of the country. In Ireland, as everywhere else in Europe, the Scandinavian pirates, who soon became invaders seizing tracts of country, found no nation united against them, no permanent military force ready to counter their movements. Europe, only emerging from the break-up of Rome, had nowhere a national organisation ; and it had no navies. These were the first people of northern Europe to become a sea-power. The sea was for them a highway, for the rest of the world a barrier. Across it they kept their homes, their property ; they descended on what coast they pleased, offering nothing to strike at but their own bodies, while they themselves had for a mark all

that was vulnerable or of value on the land to which they came. Having always the advantage of surprise, they ran their light ships aground at the spot they chose, plundered what lay near; and often, seizing horses, turned themselves into mounted men and pushed far inland on a foray. What they did in Ireland they did in Britain, in France, even down to the coasts of Morocco, whence they carried away captives, some of whom were seen in Ireland. They were the most formidable Power of that time, because they had command of two elements, sea as well as land.

There was no reason in the nature of things why Irishmen should not have followed their example and met them by sea as well as by land. But through all their history the Irish have never been a seafaring people. Perhaps St Patrick may have something to answer for, if indeed St Patrick's teaching stopped the practice of raiding overseas which, in the fifty years before his coming, had been followed so successfully by Irish kings. Plunder is one of the two earliest inducements to seamanship. The other is trade, and for this also the Irish have never shown much aptitude. The Scandinavians always combined raiding and trading, and it is probable that in their earliest visits to the Irish coast they touched peacefully at many havens and exchanged or sold their wares—plundering only when a special chance presented itself.

This may account for the fact that no serious attempt was at first made to cope with their ravages. These, however, for a generation were merely scattered descents on outlying parts of the coast-line, little felt by so loosely organised a community. Yet Irish civilisation, though threatened, was not at this time impaired by them. We know that in 808 the scribe Ferdomnach was busy upon the great collection of writings which make up and are called the Book of Armagh, but are really a library rather than a book; for besides the whole of the New Testament, the volume includes St Patrick's *Confession* and his *Epistle to Coroticus*, as well as two early biographies of the saint, and the Life of St Martin of Tours. Ferdomnach was only one of the skilful and patient copyists who enabled the Irish school at Armagh in those years to supply books free of charge to the "fleetfuls" of foreign students who came to attend surprisingly advanced teaching. Fergil, Abbot of Aghaboe, went abroad and became known as

Virgil the Geometer. He taught in Salzburg, as he had taught in Ireland, that the earth was a sphere and that antipodes existed—doctrines which centuries later were condemned as heretical. Another Irishman of this period was Dicuil the Geographer, who, having previously composed a treatise on Problems of Grammar, wrote his Geography of the World (*De Mensura Orbis Terrarum*). This tract contained descriptions of the Pyramids, with minutely accurate measurements, supplied to Dicuil by "certain clerics and laymen" who went from Ireland as pilgrims to Jerusalem and sailed far up the Nile, entering the Red Sea by a canal made in Roman days which was then still open. His geography also described Iceland and the nightless summer days in which a man "could pick vermin off his shirt" at midnight. This description Dicuil had from "certain clerics," whom he had met. They were in Iceland for six months, more than half a century before the Scandinavians "discovered" and colonised the northern island.

Moreover, Hugh Ordnee, the High King who in the beginning of the ninth century ruled for twenty-five years, was a strong monarch, neither lethargic nor uncivilised. King of the Northern Hy Neill, he undertook a hosting into Leinster —presumably the customary tribute had been withheld. "A full muster of the men of Ireland, except the Leinstermen, both laity and clergy, was made by him." Then happened a notable episode. The Coarb of Armagh, with the clergy of Leath Cuinn (that is, northern Ireland) came to the High King and demanded that clergy should be exempt from military service. Hugh agreed to leave the question to the decision of a learned clerk and lawyer (called from this decision, Fothadh of the Rule), who by his award gave exemption to all clerics. The same decision was not reached in England till fifty years later; and even after this we find clerics in Ireland, as indeed everywhere else in Europe, not only fighting, but leading armies. Yet Hugh's action marks the stage which Irish civilisation had reached at the opening of the ninth century, and shows the restraint exercised over the monarchy by peaceful learning.

Internal wars at this period were few, and those undertaken by this monarch were in the interests of order. Thus in 808 when Conor, one of his predecessor's sons, in alliance with Connaughtmen, attacked the central parts of Meath,

Hugh came to protect the men of Meath, and he drove Conor and his forces to flight out of it "as if they were goats and sheep." In the next year he plundered Ulidia—that is, Pictish Ulster, but it was in revenge for "profanation of the shrine of Patrick." It is notable too that throughout the ninth century both branches of the Hy Neill showed a disposition to support the High King's power, no matter by which branch it was held. This may have arisen from a sense of danger from the "Gentiles," whose raiding grew more frequent and more serious. But there was an earlier and more direct threat to the ruling dynasty. Felim, son of Criffan, King of Cashel, was attaining more power in Ireland than any ruler of Munster had ever possessed. In 825 a "royal meeting" took place at Birr between him and Conor of the Southern Hy Neill, then High King. In 829 Felim pushed with his forces into Meath itself and threatened Tara.

Meanwhile the Danes were busy, especially in the rich territories of Leinster; they sailed up the Waterford estuary and plundered Taghmon, St Mullins, and Inistioge; up the Blackwater and looted the great sanctuary of Lismore; up the Bandon River and sacked Inishannon. Others, entering Luimnech or Limerick, then only the name of the lower Shannon, plundered on both shores, but were repulsed at Shanid. Another party destroyed the stone church from which Duleek (Daimhliag) gets its name; they plundered Columba's monastery at Swords, Kevin's churches at Glendalough. Having no towns to spoil, they destroyed, as the Annals say, "the greater part of the churches of Erin." But they made as yet no permanent settlement in Ireland.

This began about 830, when "there came a great royal fleet into the north of Erinn with Turgeis, who assumed the sovereignty of the foreigners of Erinn." Under this Turgesius (in Norse, Thorgils) Ireland suffered more and was more completely mastered by the invaders than at any time in the two centuries of this long strife. He began with Armagh, the centre of Irish Christianity, the great university town with its crowds of students. It was plundered thrice in one month in 830, "and it had never been plundered by strangers before." All south to the limit of Leath Cuinn was overrun from the east coast.

Next year the High King, Niall Caille, son of Hugh Ordnee, inflicted a defeat on the foreigners at Derry, in his

own north. But southward the new king was powerless. Felim, King of Cashel, plundered Clonmacnoise and its sanctuary lands, as Turgesius had plundered Armagh, and slew many of the monks; he did the same to the great monastery of Durrow. A year later the lord of Hy Many in Galway also sacked Clonmacnoise and drowned its prior in the Shannon. Then Felim captured Kildare, where was at this time the Coarb of Armagh with his retinue, fugitives from their own place, driven out by war between two other claimants for it—the King of Oriel backing one, the King of Ailech the other. In one generation the heathen Norse had destroyed the respect for peace and Christian civilisation, so that the Irish rivalled them in violation of sanctuaries.

Felim of Cashel, like many of these southern kings, was a scribe and bishop; but this checked neither his violence nor his ambition. During the thirteen years in which Turgesius was ravaging northern Ireland, this ruler of the south used the weakness of Leath Cuinn to push himself, and in 840 he forced all Connaught to give him hostages, and then marched into Meath and "rested at Tara." It may be said that he became High King. No other ruler of the Eoghanacht, or Eugenian dynasty of Cashel, claiming descent from Eoghain, son of Olliol Olom, ever pushed his power so far.

But all reality of power lay with the Norsemen. In 841 Turgesius established himself in Armagh, as if claiming a religious authority; and he set his Queen Ota up in Clonmacnoise, where she gave audience from the high altar of the principal church. There seems to have been a definite attempt to restore paganism, and a certain number of the Irish in parts of the country relapsed to heathen customs and were known as the Gall-Gael.

The violent ascendancy of this adventurer came to an end in 845, when Turgesius was captured by Maelseachlain, King of Meath (it is said by a trick), and was drowned in Lough Owel, near Mullingar. But the foreign settlement remained. From 834 dates their occupation of Dublin, known to the Irish only as a crossing-place of the Liffey, called Ath Cliath, or the Hurdle Ford, from the bridge of piles and hurdles (at the point where Bridgefoot Street now ends), across which a main road, the Slighe Cualann, led from Tara into Wicklow. There was no town here; but two miles on the south at Donnybrook was the Bruidheann, one of the

great houses of entertainment that served for inns and posting-stations.

All the shore about the Liffey's estuary was flat, with much slob ; but at the point where the Dodder falls in, a firm bank ran down beside the Dubh Linn, or Black Pool, where the waters joined ; and here the Norsemen made their landing-place. It seems too that they set up a mark, for the place was known for centuries as the Steyne, or standing stone. After their custom, they hauled their long, light, flat-bottomed vessels up on land and built a stockade round them. But when they determined on permanent settlement, more was to be done ; so they built a regular fortress on the seaward end of the long ridge which runs from Kilmainham along the Liffey. This commanded the Hurdle Bridge and the passage by the road Slighe Cualann ; and from here all the rich lands of County Dublin and Meath were in reach of their ravage. So was founded Dublin Castle.

But there was a further reason for the choice of Dublin as a site. The invaders had now more than twenty years' experience of Irish wars, and they must have realised that a state of feud constantly prevailed between Leinster and the kings who claimed to rule all Ireland. Dublin was at a joint in the harness, at the junction of Meath and Leinster ; here they could strike in either direction with some assurance that Leinster would not help Meath, nor Meath Leinster.

They reckoned too, no doubt, on finding allies among the Irish themselves. In 845, Felim of Cashel having died, and the weak High King Niall Caille having met death by drowning, Maelseachlain, the captor of Turgesius, succeeded to the monarchy. His first recorded act was to make war against " a great crowd of the sons of death of the Luaighni and Gaileanga." These two old non-Gaelic military tribes " were plundering at the instigation of the foreigners."

This was the beginning of a strong king's reign ; and Maelseachlain, in his fifteen years of power, made the beginning of a new spirit in Ireland. Successful attacks on the " Gentiles " are recorded all over the country. Carroll, Lord of Ossory, defeated the Dublin Norse ; Maelseachlain slew 700 in Meath ; the Kings of Munster and Leinster in alliance slew 1200 in Kildare ; the King of Munster attacked the Norse settlement in Cork. In 848 the Lord of Bregia (that is, eastern Meath) rebelled, and with the foreigners plundered

it "from the Shannon to the sea"; but in the next year Maelseachlain captured and drowned him, as he had drowned Turgesius.

There was division too among the foreigners. The first comers had been Norse; now came fleets of the Danes, whom the Irish called the Dubh Gall or Black Foreigners, and these made war upon the Finn Gall or Fair Foreigners, "so that Ireland was distracted between them." But in 853 the situation was profoundly altered by the coming of Olaf the White, "son of the King of Lochlann," that is, Norway, who assumed rule over all the foreigners in Ireland.

This was the beginning of the Scandinavian kingdom of Dublin, which lasted until the coming of Henry II. It was part of a power which extended northwards by a long chain of posts, from the Isle of Man to the Hebrides, thence to Orkney and Shetland, and so even to Iceland. At its height it held England from Northumbria across to the Irish Sea; York, the capital of Northumbria, was ruled either by a representative or by a kinsman of the King of Dublin. Dublin was the chief seat of this great maritime power.

It must be borne in mind that Ireland, though it suffered terribly from the Danes (as these foreigners are generally called), lost less to them than other countries. In France they besieged Paris and plundered far beyond it into the heart of the country; they made themselves permanently masters of Normandy. In Britain they became absolute rulers of all lying north of the Roman road from Chester to London, up to what we now call Scotland. In Scotland, they succeeded in wresting from the successors of Fergus Mac Erc their possessions in Argyllshire and the Isles. Yet Kenneth Mac Alpine, King of the Scottish Dalriada, though he lost the coast-line, spread his power inland, and became really the first King of Scotland. The Irish Annals call him, in token of his victory, "King of the Picts."

Under Olaf the White "rent"—that is, an organised tribute to prevent plunder—was exacted from the Irish. The High King was still able to enforce his authority, even over Munster, for he entered it more than once and took hostages for its submission and payment of dues. But one strong prince, Carroll, Lord of Ossory, stood out, and leagued himself with the heathen, plundering Leinster and even Meath. Yet in 857 "a great meeting of the chieftains of Ireland" was col-

lected by the King Maelseachlain, at Rathhugh in West Meath, " to establish peace and concord between the men of Ireland." The Abbots of Armagh and of Clonard assisted, and Carroll agreed to pay whatever penalty these learned men awarded. The King of Munster, on hearing of Carroll's submission, also sent in his allegiance to the High King. But the Danes stoned him to death for breaking away from their control.

Thus there was now a beginning of organised national resistance ; yet it did not develop. When Maelseachlain sought to establish his power as High King over the north, Hugh Finliath, king of the Northern Hy Neill, made a league with the foreigners of Dublin against him and plundered Meath. Then Maelseachlain died, and by the strange rule of alternating succession, Hugh Finliath became High King ; and naturally new wars among the Irish began. Yet Hugh Finliath was well able to deal with the foreigners in the north. When they came with a fleet to Lough Foyle and landed he gave battle, and after it saw a pile of twelve score heads reckoned before him. In 866 he defeated them again, when they invaded Ulster from the south, leagued with the King of Bregia ; and from his day onward the foreigners held no settlement north of Dublin and the surrounding district, which was called Fingal.

It is clear that though Maelseachlain did not succeed in giving unity to Ireland, the power of the Danes was greatly curbed in his reign, and in that of his successor. " The Wars of the Gael and the Gall," an account written within a hundred and fifty years of this time, tells us that for a period of forty years, ending about 915, " there was some rest to the men of Erin from the ravages of the foreigners." The main effort of the Danes was at this time centred upon their conquests in England, where King Alfred was now developing a strong resistance. But they never left Ireland ; they remained as trading and raiding communities dotted along the coast-line, bringing to Ireland a new element—the life of towns.

Nowhere in Ireland did they replace the original population. In Orkney, Shetland, and the Hebrides almost all the place-names are Danish ; they are so in Ireland only on the coast. Carlingford, Strangford, Waterford, Wexford, all replaced old Irish names for these loughs or estuaries. Howth (Hoved) became used instead of the Irish Benn Edair, for it was a landing-place and a landmark. Arklow and Wicklow keep

a memory of the beacon marks or lowes which Norse seamen kept on the coast; their ports were the beginning of these towns. Outside of Ulster nearly all the city life of Ireland owes its beginning to the Danes. Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, and Limerick were all of them Danish towns before they were Irish. This represents an element of great value. In all probability the reason why the Danes were not driven completely from Ireland at the end of the ninth century, or at the end of the tenth, is that Ireland did not wish to drive them out. The convenience of these trading stations, if their power could be kept in bounds, must have outweighed any injury from occasional raids.

Moreover, there was much inter-alliance between the Irish nobles and the Norse leaders. Carroll of Ossory especially leagued himself with them, and during a long part of this peaceful period, after the death of Olaf, and of his successor Ivar, it seems that Carroll was ruler of Dublin till he died in 885. His sons and daughters also intermarried with the Danes, and their children were among the first settlers who in this same period made Iceland part of Scandinavia.

This, however, does not indicate a relapse to paganism among the Irish, but rather the spread of Christianity among the foreigners.

Throughout all the ninth century, troubled though Ireland was, and despite all the break-up of seats of learning, Irishmen adhered with devotion to the studious life. The Annals record again and again the death of some "wise man," or, as we should say, philosopher, some celebrated physician, some distinguished craftsman, some famous poet, and scores of ecclesiastics reputed for learning and sanctity. Towards its close there is seen one of the most interesting and pathetic figures in Irish records—Cormac MacCullenan, described as "a king, a bishop and anchorite, a scribe, and profoundly learned in the Scotic tongue." He was a prince of the Eoghanacht or Eugenian line which ruled in Cashel; but his early life was spent in religion and study at the monastery of Disert Diarmada, now Castle Dermot, in Kildare. Here he compiled a Glossary of the many words in old Irish poems and metrical records which had even in his day grown obsolete and unintelligible—a work still extant and of immense value to students. Nowhere else in Europe had the idea of such a glossary been conceived for any language other than Latin

and Greek ; perhaps because nowhere else in Europe was there preserved so old a literature. This king in his etymology refers to Hebrew and Danish and Greek words, as well as to Latin. To him was attributed also the Psalter of Cashel. Probably Cormac revised and rewrote some older document. It contained the Book of Rights, setting out in detail all the dues, as between king and sub-king, noble and commoner. The Psalter was extant in the seventeenth century, but is lost now, though the Book of Rights has been preserved in another manuscript.

Late in his life this learned scholar and lawyer was called out of his retirement and chosen King of Munster. It would seem that he was continuously under the influence of another Eugenian prince-bishop, Flaherty, Abbot of Inis Cathaigh (Scattery Island), a cleric of very different nature. Under Flaherty's inspiration Cormac undertook an ambitious policy, raiding far into Leinster and Connaught. But later, when he sought to assert supremacy over southern Ireland by demanding hostages of Leinster, the King of Leinster proposed a truce for half a year. Cormac was for accepting the truce, but Flaherty urged him with taunts and, in spite of a wise and holy man's intercession, forced him into war. Flann, the High King, had come to the aid of Leinster, and the Munster forces knew that Cormac fought unwillingly and foreboded death on this day at Ballaghmoon ; they had no stomach for the battle, and fled, some of them crying, " Leave it between the clergy themselves, who could not be quiet without coming to battle." In the rout Cormac was slain. His head was brought to Flann, as was the custom of these days, that the victor on horseback might put it under his thigh ; but " it was not thanks Flann gave them." He took the head, kissed it, and sent it with honour to be buried at Disert Diarmada, in care of the wise monk who would have prevented the battle. The date is 908.

The Battle of Ballaghmoon is important, because it broke the power of the Eugenian kings of Cashel and kept the way open for the rival Munster line of Cormac Cas to rise. From them the deliverer was to come, yet not for more than half a century.

Early in the tenth century the foreigners returned in strength to Waterford ; further reinforcements of them led to new plundering in Munster and Leinster. When Niall

Blackknee of the Northern Hy Neill became High King resistance strengthened, but after prolonged fighting the Norsemen at last won a decisive battle on the Kilkenny shore, just below the junction of the Nore and Barrow, and henceforward they held Waterford unchallenged till the Normans came.

But Niall pushed his attack against them in their other stronghold at Dublin. They came out to meet him near Kilmainham, where he fell with nearly all the princes of Leath Cuinn. His successor, Donough, was no leader of men. But in the north Murtough, son of Niall Blackknee, repulsed several Danish expeditions into Ulster, and retaliated, even raiding across the sea upon the Norse Settlements in the Hebrides. Finally, in 939, he earned his name of Leather Cloaks. In winter, when all other rulers had disbanded their troops, he took a thousand picked men clothed in cloaks of hide and " made a circuit of Ireland, keeping his left hand to the sea," till he reached Dublin, whence he carried off a hostage for the Danish king. Then he went to Leinster and Munster, and from each carried away the king of the province a prisoner ; and so he came back through Connaught to Donegal, bringing to Ailech as hostages all the chief rulers of Ireland except only the Hy Neill. Then he sent them all to the High King Donough, " because it was he that was at Tara, and the sovereignty had come to him."

Murtough clearly was seeking to magnify the High King's office, to which he hoped to succeed. But two years later he fell in battle against the Danes, so that he never became High King ; and on Donough's death the sovereignty went, irregularly, to Conghalach of the Southern, not the Northern, Hy Neill. Murtough's action in handing over his hostages to the High King had been a strong vindication of the old compact for alternating sovereignty ; now Murtough was dead, and the compact was disregarded. This is a first sign of the break-up of the traditional Hy Neill rule. Later, in 948, Rory O'Cannon, King of Ailech, who should naturally have succeeded to the High Kingship, made war on Conghalach, entered Meath, " and the dues of the King of Ireland were sent him from every quarter." But he was drawn into battle with the Norse of Dublin, and though the foreigners were defeated, Rory fell on the field, and Conghalach's monarchy was no longer challenged.

At this period the Anglo-Saxon kings were making war on the Danes successfully ; and in 937 Olaf Cuaran, then King of Dublin, made a great effort to recover his hold, but was routed at Brunanburgh, and fell back on Dublin. In 954 the Danish rule in Northumbria ended, and as a natural result the Danes turned their minds to completing the conquest of Ireland.

It should be remembered that the peoples were no longer distinct ; Conghalach, the High King, was married to Olaf Cuaran's daughter. Much later, Olaf remarried and became the first husband of Gormlaith, daughter of the King of Leinster, who was married successively to three kings, of whom Brian Boru was the third.

Donal, who succeeded Conghalach as High King, ruled long but with little authority. From Leinster north all Ireland was distracted with petty wars ; the small States appear to have had more freedom and licence than in earlier times, when the High Kingship was more of a reality. By their dissensions the Danish power profited. Yet a strong king was coming to the front in Meath ; and in 978, the last year of Donal's reign, Maelseachlain More (Malachy the Great) broke the power of the Dublin Danes in a great battle at Tara. He became High King shortly after.

But ten years earlier, signal defeat had been inflicted on the foreigners in the south. The interest now shifts to Munster.

CHAPTER VI

BRIAN BORU

From 915 onwards the Danes were established in great strength at Waterford. About 930 a new fleet fixed its headquarters on an island in the Shannon at the top of the tideway, founding there the city of Limerick. This horde was dreadfully active, and Munster suffered even worse than the rest of Ireland. According to the "Wars of the Gael and Gall," they levied rent upon every king and chieftain, and in each territory put a Danish overlord and "a steward in every village and a soldier in every house, so that none of the men of Erinn had power to give even the milk of his cow, nor as much as the clutch of eggs of one hen, in succour or in kindness to an aged man or a friend, but must preserve them for the foreign steward or bailiff or soldier. Although there was but one cow in a house, it must be killed for the meal of one night, if supply for the foreigner could not be got otherwise." Naturally land went out of cultivation, and in 963 there was "an intolerable famine, so that the father used to kill his son and daughter to get food."

Then, however, deliverers arose.

Cormac MacCullenan had lost the Battle of Ballaghmoon and so weakened the Eugenian dynasty, which ruled over Desmond (Deas-Mumhan, South Munster); and its right of sovereignty was challenged by a rival dynasty, the Dalcassian line, They held the smaller and poorer province of Thomond (Tuath-Mumhan, North Munster), which was only County Clare, with part of Limerick and Tipperary; but they were a hardy race. Kennedy, their king, was constantly at war to make good his claim, and he fell in battle against the King of Cashel. But the Danes were giving all Munster something more urgent to fight about,

and Kennedy's son Mahon set up a fierce resistance to the foreigners.

Mahon moved with all his men and cattle into the fastnesses of Clare and "began to plunder and kill the foreigners." So began a war in which "it was woe for either party to meet the other"; and Mahon was strongly seconded by his younger brother Brian. When at last each side was weary of this guerilla war, Mahon and the Danes made a truce; but Brian and the young champions of the Dal Cais went back again into the forests and wilds of North Munster, for all this part of Munster was then forest land. The foreigners made their stronghold at Bunratty, ten miles west of Limerick, on the Shannon, and from this camp they harried all Clare, chasing Brian and his men who lived "in the wild huts of the desert, on the hard knotty wet roots." Brian killed off the Danes "in twos and in threes, and in fives and in scores and in hundreds"; but in the constant skirmishing and battle his own men were reduced to fifteen.

Then Mahon sent for Brian, and the meeting between them is recorded in a poem:

> "'Alone art thou, Brian of Banba,
> Thy warfare was not without valour—
> Not numerous hast thou come to our house—
> Where hast thou left thy followers?'
> 'I have left them with the foreigners
> After being cut down, O Mahon:
> In hardship they followed me over every plain,
> Not like as thy people.'"

So the dialogue continues, Brian relating his fights, and taunting his brother with cowardice unworthy of his race. Mahon answered that he would not like to leave the Dal Cais dead in following him, as Brian had left his men. Brian retorted that it was hereditary for the Dal Cais to die, but it was not natural or hereditary for them to submit to insult or contempt, because their fathers and grandfathers submitted to it from no one on earth. In the end Mahon agreed to leave the decision to a meeting of the Dal Cais, and the assembly voted for war rather than submission; "and this was the voice of hundreds, as the voice of one man."

So Mahon said that it was right for them to go to Cashel, "for it was the Ailech of Munster and the Tara of Leath Mogha," and to seek for support from the Eoghanacht.

Munster then mustered round Mahon, and attacked the outlying posts and settlements of the foreigners. Ivar, King of the Danes of Limerick, called together the hosting of all those parts which were under his rule, to exterminate the Dalcais. Certain of the Munster rulers refused his order, and were put to death. But Molloy, the King of Desmond, and Donovan, King of Carbery (that is, East Limerick), willingly joined the Danes; for in their view Mahon, in setting up his standard at Cashel, had usurped the right of the elder Eugenian line.

The upshot was a great battle fought in the open at Sulcoit, or Sollohed, in the Golden Vale, near where Limerick Junction now is; and the fight lasted from sunrise to midday, when the Danes "fled to the ditches and the valleys and to the solitudes of that great sweet flowery plain." The Dalcais followed them hard, chased them till dark, and, marching through the whole night, entered Limerick by surprise and sacked the foreign stronghold, which was also a trader's magazine. Description of the booty shows what Danish merchants kept by them: "Their jewels and their best property, their saddles, beautiful and foreign; their gold and silver; their beautifully woven cloth, satins and silks, both scarlet and green, pleasing and variegated." Of the captives, all men fit for war were killed, the rest taken into slavery.

This great victory was in 968. Mahon now asserted his rule over all Munster and took hostages from all who had opposed him. When the Danes of Limerick and of Waterford joined forces and pillaged Munster, he routed them and burnt Limerick. But none the less they came back to their ports—doubtless, at first, as traders.

Meanwhile Molloy of Desmond and Donovan, chief princes of the Eoghanacht, were furious at the growth of Dalcassian power; and they entered into a conspiracy through which Mahon was decoyed to Donovan's stronghold, and by him handed over to Molloy, who caused him to be murdered—eight years after the battle of Sulcoit. But Brian, who now at the age of thirty became king, "was not a stone in the place of an egg, and he was not a wisp in place of a club; but he was a hero in place of a hero, and he was valour after valour." Having defeated and slain Donovan and Molloy, with their Danish allies, he found himself supreme in Munster

and the Danish menace in the south thoroughly broken. No expulsion of the foreigners from their towns was attempted by him ; they were left free to live there and trade. Marriages also still took place between them and the Gaels—Leinster especially tending to league with the Danes of Dublin. This was not unnatural, because this unfortunate province was alternately oppressed by the Kings of Cashel and of Tara, for both claimed authority over Leinster.

These two leading powers were now face to face. What Mahon and Brian had done at Sulcoit in 968 was done by Malachy the Great when, in 978, at Tara he defeated the Danes and Leinstermen in a pitched battle, and followed up his success by marching on Dublin, which he occupied, liberated all the prisoners there, and proclaimed the general liberation of the Gaels from all bondage to the foreigners.

Olaf Cuaran, King of Dublin, "went across the sea" (being probably deposed) and died a penitent at Iona, which had been so often pillaged by his people. His wife, Gormlaith, left him, and married Malachy. But her sons, Ironknee and Sitric, became in succession Kings of Dublin.

There began now a long struggle for supremacy. Brian's first object was to obtain the sovereignty of all Leath Mogha, and he marched into Ossory to take hostages. Malachy, seizing the moment, pushed down along the Shannon, entered Thomond, and for a supreme affront destroyed the tree in Clare under which the Kings of Thomond used to be inaugurated ; to which Brian retaliated by raiding Meath while Malachy was busy punishing the Leinstermen, who had now leagued themselves with the Danes of Waterford.

Within eight years of his accession Brian was supreme in Leath Mogha. He now began to spread his power in Connaught, and, adopting Danish tactics, he put a fleet of boats on the Shannon, using the Danes of Waterford as his allies. This foray had no complete success, and Malachy, who had again chastised the Danes of Dublin, was able for a second time to ravage Thomond and defeat the Dalcais. Connaught was plundered in turn by both these strong kings. Finally, however, after the strife between them had lasted fifteen years, Malachy and Brian agreed to unite their forces for a crushing blow at the Danes, whose activity constantly renewed itself. They marched to Dublin and carried off hostages and plunder ; next year, in 998, their joint hosts

met at Glenmama, near Dunlavin, on the west side of the Wicklow Hills. Here the Danes, having as usual allies from Leinster, came out to the encounter and were defeated with much slaughter. In the rout Maelmurrough, King of Leinster, brother to Brian's queen Gormlaith, hid in a yew tree, where he was found and pulled down ignominiously by Murrogh, Brian's eldest son, chief champion of the Dalcais. This was later one of the causes of strife in Brian's own household. For before this Brian had married Gormlaith, of whom it was said that she took three leaps no woman should take—a leap at Dublin, when she married Olaf ; a leap at Tara, when she married Malachy ; and a leap at Cashel, when she married Brian. The Icelandic saga says of her that she was the fairest of all women and did well all things over which she had no power, but did evilly all the things in which she had any power.

After the rout at Glenmama, Sitric, King of the Danes, Gormlaith's son by Olaf, fled north, seeking asylum from the Northern Hy Neill. But Brian sent messengers after him, and he returned and made submission, not to the High King, but to Brian. His fortress was restored to him, and there was given him in marriage Brian's own daughter by his first wife.

This makes it further plain that Brian's policy contemplated retaining the Danish settlements as an element in Irish life ; and also that he meant to use this new element of strength against Malachy. Next year this policy was seen in action. Brian moved on Tara in full force, and the Danes from Dublin were to meet him. But they marched too early, and Malachy falling on them, routed them before they could join Brian, who then fell back into Munster. After this Malachy and Cathal, King of Connaught, made a causeway across the Shannon at Athlone to enable each to reinforce the other quickly. But Brian next year moved on Athlone and called for submission. Connaught yielded. Malachy asked for a month's truce in which to find if the Northern Hy Neill would support him ; saying, he would give Brian battle or hostages according to their reply. Brian agreed, and Malachy sent north his own ollave poet as ambassador. But the chiefs of Cinel Owen answered with taunts : "When we had Tara, we held it for ourselves," they said. Then as price of support they demanded that half of Meath

should be annexed to the kingdom of Ailech. Malachy heard the answer with resentment, and going straight to Brian with a small escort made submission in person.

So after six centuries was broken the long succession of rule by the Hy Neill dynasty. Brian marched north to Armagh, where he confirmed certain privileges to the see of St Patrick in its primacy over Ireland ; and an entry was made recording this in the Book of Armagh, in a blank space in the parchment, where the words can still be seen written by Brian's secretary, " In conspectu Briani Imperatoris Scotorum." The new High King claimed for himself in Ireland imperial power. He was consciously seeking to establish a unity of rule, as greater sovereigns were attempting on a grander scale in Europe.

Brian's High Kingship is dated from 1002, when he was sixty-one years old. It needed more than one expedition after this, however, before the chiefs of Tyrone and Tyrconnell resigned themselves to give hostages. During the twelve years of Brian's sovereignty Malachy appears to have supported him loyally, striking back whenever some outlying chieftain set up a little war. Brian's abode and seat of government was at Kincora, beside Killaloe, at the ford on the Shannon below Lough Derg ; and he set himself to repair effectually the ravages of the long wars. " He restored and built churches," says Keating, " and gave every cleric his own temple according to his rank and his right to it. He built and set in order public schools for the teaching of letters and the sciences in general, and he also gave the price of books and expenses to each one who could not defray the expenses and desired to devote himself to learning." Armagh filled up again with students ; there is noted under 1011 a great mortality there " of the seniors and students."

Brian built also " many bridges, causeways, and highways," and built and repaired fortresses all over the country, so that peace was established and people could travel without fear of violence. It is noted too that he left the historic rights to each territory, dispossessing no sept or clan, but enforcing upon all his over-lordship—which was the price of peace, paid not merely in submission but in tribute. Most of this came in cattle and swine—hence his name Brian Bó-ramha, the kine-counting. But Tyrconnell paid five hundred mantles as well as five hundred cows ; Tyrone sent threescore bars of iron,

Leinster three hundred, Ossory threescore, as well as their share of stock for each; while the Danes of Dublin paid a hundred and fifty barrels of red wine, and the Danes of Limerick three hundred and fifty—five hundred good reasons why Brian never made a clean sweep of the Danish ports.

The presence of the Danes, in truth, was always of service, but always a danger; and when Brian had been ten years in sovereignty the danger threatened again. Gormlaith is said to have been a chief cause of it. Brian after some time put her away and married another princess; the marriage laws did not bind kings strongly anywhere at this period, and Ireland had by this time become a good deal detached from the Roman discipline. Gormlaith was not likely to submit in peace. Her son Sitric ruled in Dublin, her brother Maelmurrough in Leinster; both had suffered defeat by Brian, and between them she fomented a conspiracy to call in the whole Danish power to a thorough conquest of Ireland.

The plotters sent first to Earl Sigurd of the Orkneys, and promised him in return for his help the kingdom of Ireland and the hand of Gormlaith. Sigurd agreed, and the messengers came back with a tryst for the next spring. But Gormlaith said this was not enough. There lay off the Isle of Man a fleet of piratic adventurers under the command of two much dreaded Vikings, Ospak and Broder. To them also Gormlaith and Sitric sent tidings, offering the same reward—Ireland and Gormlaith in marriage. According to the story, Ospak refused to attack so good a king as Brian; but Broder, who had been a "mass-deacon," but relapsed to heathendom and become "God's dastard," was fiercely for the war. Ospak escaped from him with ten of thirty ships, leagued himself with Brian, and became a Christian.

The Danish power was trysted to meet in the week before Easter of the year 1014. We have the story told to us by both sides; for the Icelandic Saga of Burnt Nial ends with its account of this momentous battle. To the Danes, as to the Irish, it was a vast event. All the Norse rallied. "Sigurd came, and with the great Orkney earl a great gathering of his chiefs and followers, called to the war from every island on the Scottish main from Uist to Arran, beaten blades who had followed the descendant of Thorfinn, the skull-splitter, in many a roving cruise, half-heathen, half-Christian men who trusted perhaps to the sign of the Cross on land and to Thor's

holy hammer on shipboard." With the host came many Icelanders of known and noted names to join their kinsmen from Dublin and Waterford. With the Gall were Gaels also ; the hosting of Leinster under Gormlaith's brother Maelmurrough, and the forces of Offaly under another prince allied to the Danes. Ireland, from Waterford to Dublin, and inland to the line of the Barrow, and beyond that even to Clara and Tullamore, was against Brian in this fight.

On Brian's side the core of the battle array was the Dalcassian army ; but all the forces of Munster were there, and the troops of South Connaught from territories representing most of Roscommon and Galway. Malachy had with him the men of Meath ; but the Northern Hy Neill, the northern part of Connaught, and the old kingdom of Ulidia held aloof. There came, however, a body of Scottish Gaels under the high stewards of Mar and Lennox.

We have no clear description of the battle. Both Sagas—for at this point the " Wars of the Gael and the Gall " becomes poem rather than history—tell of signs and omens. The Icelander tells how Odin himself was seen on a grey horse coming to the Danish war council ; while the Irish chronicler —who is said to have been MacLiag, Brian's chief ollave-poet, carried to excess the Gaelic love for wild and distorted images in his telling of that day. Yet upon one point the record is clear. We are told that the fight began at dawn on Good Friday, and before sunset the Danes were driven back upon their ships, moored off the shore, and were drowned by hundreds because the tide was at flood. Mathematical calculation has shown that the tide in Dublin Bay on the evening of Good Friday, 23rd April 1014, was full at five minutes to six.

Apart from this, the account is like that of a battle in Homer, concerned solely with the deeds of chieftains. Brian, now in his seventy-fourth year, stood apart and watched it among a party of his followers. The field was full of banners. One was that of Earl Sigurd, black, and so shaped that when unfurled it was like a raven's wings ; it brought victory to the host that it led, but death to him who carried it. Man after man was struck down under it, and at last Sigurd cried to another to take it. " Bear thy own devil thyself," retorted the Dane and fled. Sigurd took the ensign and furled it under his coat, but was slain bearing it.

But Brian's concern was with another banner, that of Murrogh his son, who went into that fight with a sword in each hand. "He was the last man in Ireland that had equal dexterity in striking with right and left." Beside him, his standard drove far through the battalions; and as Brian asked each time, he was told that in all the carnage Murrogh's banner was still standing. "Then," said Brian, "all shall be well with the men of Erin."

Others watched too. The fight was along the slopes which fall from Mountjoy Square towards the sea and the Liffey; open ground in easy sight of the walls of the Danish citadel, standing where is now Dublin Castle. Here, on the walls, was Sitric, and with him his wife, Brian's daughter. "Well do the foreigners reap the field," said Sitric. "It is at the end of the day it will be seen," answered Brian's daughter. As the sun turned west, the fight spread down from the slopes to the flat shore where the tram-line runs to Howth—for all beyond that is reclaimed slob. On the left here, Murrogh's son, Turlogh, was in hot pursuit, and after the fight men found this boy of sixteen in the mouth of the Tolka River, still in grips with a Dane, both drowned, each grappling the other by the hair. All along the battle front Danes were striving to get back to their ships, and Brian's daughter said: "It appears to me that the foreigners have gained their inheritance." Sitric asked what she meant. "They are going into the sea, where they belong to," she said. "I wonder is it heat that is on them; but they do not stay to be milked."

It was at this time that Brian from his station beyond the battle asked for the last time for news of the fight. He was told that the field was like a wood where seven battalions had been hewing away the underwood and young trees, for only a few great ones were standing. "And the foreigners are now defeated and Murrogh's standard has fallen." "That is sad news," said Brian, "the honour and valour of Erin fell when that standard fell." Then, in the confusion of the rout, a party of foreigners were seen making their way inland, and Brian's people wished him to fly, but he refused. There were three of the strangers in blue armour, the remnant of a thousand ironclad men who came with Broder. Broder was of these three, and one recognised Brian, and Broder turned and cut down the old king with his axe. The Irish story tells that Brian dealt a blow by which Broder also died; the Icelandic

saga says that Broder was taken and disembowelled alive. But Iceland and Ireland agree that

> "Brian fell, but kept his kingdom
> Ere he lost one drop of blood."

The battle was over before he fell; and it decided for ever the Danish pretensions to mastery in Ireland.

But the day of Clontarf left Ireland masterless; Murrogh, as well as Brian, was dead. The High Kingship went back by consent to Malachy, who had not been so deeply engaged in the battle. The Dalcais had borne the brunt; and after, in their weakened state, the rival line of Munster saw a chance to reassert itself. When the bodies of Brian and Murrogh had been carried off the field on the road to Armagh, where it was decreed they should be buried, the men of Munster separated their camp from the Dalcais; and on their way south Cuan, son of Molloy, Brian's old opponent, with another Eoghanacht prince, sent a message to Donogh, the surviving son of Brian, claiming hostages from him; for, they said, the kingship of Munster must revert to the Eugenian line by alternate right. Donogh answered that the Dalcais held sovereignty not by inheritance but by conquest, for the whole of Munster had been wrested by them from the foreigners when the men of Desmond were unable to contest it. He then prepared for battle, which was threatened.

But the two Eoghanacht princes, before giving battle, endeavoured to divide the spoil, and they quarrelled, and each went home his own way, leaving Donogh unfought.

As the Dalcassians marched further south and reached Athy on the Barrow, the King of Ossory, whose father had been imprisoned by Brian, lay in wait for the weakened conquerors, and demanded their submission and hostages. Donogh returned a fiercer answer than before, and marshalled his sound men, sending the wounded to the rear. But the wounded made a party of the others go to a wood, cut stakes, and fix them in the ground. Then, stuffing their wounds with moss, each crippled warrior had himself bound to a stake in the battle-line. When the men of Ossory saw this muster they "avoided the Dalcais," and gave them passage. But they harassed the retreat and cut off many scores of wounded stragglers.

That was how the victors from Clontarf came back to Kincora.

CHAPTER VII

ST MALACHY AND THE REFORMATION OF RELIGION

IRELAND'S victory at Clontarf settled that Ireland should not come under Danish sovereignty ; but it settled nothing else. Brian's whole lifework fell to ruins with his death and Murrogh's ; naturally, since he had sought to build up what was the only alternative then recognised to many petty kingships—one great personal monarchy. The ruin was more complete because in seeking to found his power he had destroyed what was then one of the oldest surviving institutions in Europe—the High Kingship vested in the Northern and Southern Hy Neill. Sovereignty in this house had lasted for six centuries ; it had been challenged a hundred years before Brian's day by Felim, King of Cashel, yet only for a brief period. When Mahon, Brian's predecessor, overthrew in Munster the monopoly of rule by Eugenian Kings of Cashel, he had a traditional justification ; but Brian's superseding of Malachy, a High King of the established line, who had, moreover, proved fitness only second to Brian's own for supremacy, must have seemed to Ireland at large an usurpation. By disturbing tradition, Brian gave full play to the anarchic plea that sovereignty should go to the strongest ; and after their losses at Clontarf the Dalcassians were no longer decisively dominant in Ireland. Malachy resumed the High Kingship, and held it without opposition till his death in 1022. After that for a century and a half there was no High King, but there were always claimants to the High Kingship and wars for supremacy, which it is needless to follow in detail.

On the whole the Dalcassians were still the strongest power, but they were weakened by internal dissensions about succession. Desmond was always hostile to them under its rulers, the MacCarthys, heirs of the Eugenian line. Connaught was a growing power under the O'Conors ; and what had

formerly been the sub-kingdom of Brefny, comprising roughly Cavan, Longford, and Leitrim, now came almost into the first rank ; while Meath had fallen decidedly into the second. But Leinster had gained greatly by alliance with the Danes of Dublin. Those settlers had now become Christian : a bishop of Dublin was consecrated in 1040, and what is now Christ Church Cathedral was founded by them in the eleventh century. But the first bishop of the Danish city was an Irishman, and about the same time they chose Dermod Mac Maelnambo, King of Leinster, for their king.

At the end of the century Murtough Mór O'Brien, King of Thomond, asserted his supremacy over all Ireland by an expedition in which he marched north and took vengeance for an earlier destruction of Kincora by levelling the fort of Ailech. His men carried back stones from its walls on a march which made the circuit of Ireland without opposition ; and Murtough, it is said, ordered that these stones should be built into the cathedral of Limerick, then in process of erection.

Limerick was now the capital of the O'Brien kings ; they were the first Irish dynasty to have a town for their seat of government. Cashel, which was to Munster what Tara had been to central Ireland, now became the subject of a remarkable decision. At a synod of all Ireland, attended by laity as well as clergy, Murtough bestowed Cashel "upon the religious of Ireland in general." At this time there was a real reformation in progress in the Irish Church, and this was one of the means by which the strongest ruler in Ireland marked his interest. Reformation in the Church meant bringing Ireland back into closer touch with Roman civilisation—which in the eleventh century, by the conquest of England, had again advanced its boundaries into the island group of which Ireland was a part. But Roman civilisation was now represented in northern Europe by men of the same race who had ravaged Christian Ireland and Britain.

The Normans were Norsemen Gallicised, which meant Romanised ; and civilisation added to their power without sapping their energy. Fifty-two years after Brian drove back the Norse in slaughter at Clontarf, Normans under William came to England, and within a few years completed a lasting conquest. These conquerors, though of northern stock, were linked to Rome by all the affinities of their training.

William was prompted to the conquest of England by the Pope, and William's chief statesmen were great Roman ecclesiastics. The eyes of these men were already on Ireland. Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, claimed that his jurisdiction extended over the Irish Church. He addressed this claim to the Norse King of Dublin, because the Norse of the seaport towns, though they chose their first bishops from among native Irish chieftains, caused them to be consecrated by Anglo-Norman bishops.

Lanfranc, in claiming to extend his control over the Church in Ireland, claimed to bring it into closer union with Rome. His successor, Anselm, equally desirous to extend the Roman influence, held much correspondence with Murtough O'Brien ; the letters are extant. Limerick became a cathedral city under Murtough's rule, and its first bishop was a travelled Irishman, Gilla-easpuig or Gilbert, who had known Anselm at Rouen and corresponded with him from Ireland. Probably by Anselm's influence, Gilbert was named as the first Papal Legate ever appointed for Ireland. This was probably a tribute not only to Gilbert, but to Murtough, whose great gift of Cashel to the religious of Ireland must have been known and approved at Rome.

Through Gilbert was carried out a reorganisation of the Irish Church which brought it into closer conformity with the rest of Christendom. In Ireland of the earlier centuries the monasteries had been immensely more important than the secular clergy, and the bishops very numerous and with little power. A synod held about 1110 reduced the number of bishoprics to twenty-six for the whole country, abolishing a great number of petty sees, each of which had represented an ancient tuath or tribal district. Twelve bishops were allotted to Leath Cuinn, twelve to Leath Mogha, and two to Meath. By alterations which were made in the course of the twelfth century, the new bishoprics were adapted to the main existing divisions of the country. The sees of Armagh and Cashel were made archbishoprics, Armagh having the primacy. Thus Ireland was brought to be under the same type of government as the rest of the Church in Europe.

But this concerned only the organisation of the Church ; and it is evident that during the eleventh century after Clontarf, if not earlier, grave abuses in its discipline had grown up. Their reform was zealously taken in hand by one of the most

remarkable among Irish saints, St Malachy O'Morgair, who did more than anyone of his time to bring Ireland into touch with the best of continental civilisation.

Malachy was born at Armagh just before the close of the eleventh century. His father was a man of high position, a professor of learning in Armagh. The boy's reputation for zeal and learning caused Kellach, Abbot of Armagh, to pick out this youth for advancement, ordain him, and make him his vicar. Malachy, we are told, "introduced song into his monastery while as yet none in the city and the whole bishopric could sing." Armagh began to practise chanting psalms "after the fashion of the whole world," says St Bernard, Malachy's friend and biographer. He reformed usages which had grown lax, such as those of confession and confirmation. Then, desiring to increase further his knowledge of ecclesiastical matters, he decided to go to Lismore, where lived Malchus, Bishop of Waterford, an Irish monk who had been trained in the monastery of Winchester. At Lismore Malachy made friends with Cormac MacCarthy, afterwards King of Desmond. After a period Archbishop Kellach recalled the young priest, and he was appointed Abbot of Bangor. This famous monastery had never been rebuilt since it was destroyed by the Danes, but the lands with which it was endowed had passed to a layman—Malachy's uncle. The young abbot, having secured a small body of monks to join him, set to rebuilding. Working with their own hands, in a few days they finished the oratory, "made of smoothed planks indeed, but closely and strongly fastened together—a Scotic work, not devoid of beauty." Then, Malachy's fame spreading, he was chosen Bishop of Connor, which at this time corresponded to the ancient Ulidia, now Antrim and Down. Concerning the people of this region St Bernard writes :—

> "They were Christians in name, in fact they were pagans. There was no giving of tithes or first-fruits ; no entry into lawful marriage, no making of confessions ; nowhere could be found any who would either seek penance or impose it. Ministers of the altar were exceeding few."

This is, no doubt, an exaggerated statement (we know from St Bernard himself that marriage existed in Armagh, for instance) ; but it is no doubt generally true that Christi-

anity had grown lax. Malachy set to work, like the old saints, living with great austerity, traversing the country on foot with a band of disciples, preaching and exhorting. If we take St Bernard again for evidence, the result was that "barbarous laws disappear, Roman laws are introduced" (it will be noted how this French monk, writing near Arras, uses "Roman" to mean "civilised"). "Everywhere the ecclesiastical customs are received, their opposites are rejected."

Yet presently the King of Ailech raided into Ulidia, and destroyed Bangor. Malachy with his monks fled south, and established a monastery. But Archbishop Kellach was falling sick, and, being zealous for the good of the Church, gave charge to the two Kings of Munster, Cormac MacCarthy and Conor O'Brien, that Malachy should succeed him. Kellach knew that power would be needed to enforce this.

From the first it had been common to choose a coarb or successor to the founder of a monastery from the founder's kin; for instance, nearly all the early coarbs of Iona were of Columba's blood. Later, in the decay of the Church, a practice had crept in by which succession to these great ecclesiastical offices was kept strictly in one family, but the coarb was not called upon to take orders. For many generations it had been so at Armagh. "There had been already eight before Kellach, married and without orders, albeit men of letters." Kellach wished to break this corrupt usage. But when Malachy was appointed, Kellach's kinsman, Murtough, drove him out. On Murtough's death a fresh attempt was made to bring in Malachy; but another kinsman, Niall, succeeded to Murtough's claim and held the right for some years till at last Niall was driven out, but carried off with him the Book of Armagh—which was then believed to be St Patrick's own copy of the Testament—and the Bachal Iosa or crozier, which was also a main jewel of the coarb in Armagh. Finally, however, Malachy regained these, but, having established his authority, resigned it and went back to his first bishopric and his beloved Bangor. He did more; for, setting an example of high wisdom, he divided the diocese into two, so that there should be a Bishop of Connor corresponding to the kingdom of Dalaradia, and one of Down serving the kingdom of Ulidia. He reorganised also the diocese of Clogher, so that it corresponded to the kingdom of Oriel—which could only be done

by surrendering territory from the see of Armagh, equivalent to the counties of Monaghan and Louth.

Then, to sanction all that he had done, which indeed amounted to no less than a reformation, he set out on a journey to Rome, having for purpose to demand the pallium for each of the two Irish archbishoprics. These palls, collars made of lamb's-wool, were given by the Pope to every archbishop of a metropolitan see as a symbol of his right to exercise metropolitan functions. On this journey Malachy turned from his direct route to visit St Bernard at Clairvaux, one of the first great monasteries of the Cistercian Order. St Bernard was then the greatest ecclesiastical power in Europe, and Malachy no doubt sought his support at Rome. But he saw also and fell in love with the ordering of life in that great monastery, where already was work of the builder such as had never been imagined in Ireland. And St Bernard, it would seem, fell in love with the saintly Irish bishop.

Malachy returned from Rome without the palls, but with a promise that they should be given if asked for by a general council of the bishops and clerks and magnates of the land. More than this, he was appointed Papal Legate to replace Gilbert of Limerick, now very old. Returning by Clairvaux, he left four of his companions there to be instructed after the Cistercian usage. He himself had asked of the Pope that instead of returning to Ireland he might be permitted to live out his life at Clairvaux ; but this was refused him, and he did some years more of work in Ireland. Then after a synod in 1148, at which the palls were demanded in due form, Malachy was again deputed to go in person and demand them. He reached Clairvaux again, but only to die there, blessing and blessed by the great St Bernard, who wrote the Life of Malachy, and when his own time for death came chose to be robed in the habit which the Irish saint had worn when dying.

Though Malachy could not go to the Cistercians, he brought them to Ireland. In 1142 the four companions whom he had left at Clairvaux came to Ireland with a contingent of other monks and founded at Mellifont, near Drogheda, the first monastery belonging to any of the regular orders recognised throughout Europe. Thus was Ireland linked up to Europe in matters of religion ; and not of religion only, for with the monks came one Brother Robert, skilled in

building. The plan of Mellifont was the first introduction of Gothic architecture in its full beauty to Ireland. Thus through Malachy Ireland was also brought into touch with what was finest in the art of the Middle Ages.

It must not be supposed that the Irish had lost their ancient aptitude for culture. In the eleventh century there was marked development. Brian Boru had begun to pave the way for it as soon as he came into power and could deal with the need for restoring education. He sent "professors and masters to teach wisdom and knowledge," says the contemporary writer of the Wars of the Gael and the Gall; he had to despatch messengers beyond the sea because the Danes had in their raids ruined "the countless host of the illuminated books of the men of Erinn." He "gave the price of learning and the price of books" to these scholar envoys. After Brian's death the High King Malachy also began "to restore schools and to build and set in order churches after the example of Brian," says Keating. "We read that he maintained three hundred students at his own expense." There was a keen revival of learning, and scribes were busy in making copies of the old romances and poems. One which survives, the *Leabhar-na-h-Uidhre*, or Book of the Dun Cow, is our chief source for knowledge of this literature. Another aspect of that revival of learning is found in the work of Flann, professor in the monastery at Monasterboice, near Drogheda. His book of Synchronisms set out in parallel columns the story of Assyrian, Median, Persian, Greek, and Roman history alongside of the history of Irish kings—a text-book of world history as he understood it. It has to be admitted that Flann and his fellow-workers appear to have invented a good deal of Irish chronicle to synchronise with the earlier periods.

Nor was the revival only in literature. Cormac's Chapel at Cashel, built by St Malachy's friend Cormac MacCarthy, King of Desmond, was finished in 1134, and though small is a noble piece of that early massive architecture with the round arch, generally known as Romanesque. The Cross of Cong, a piece of filigree work on metal, as wonderful in its intricacy as the illumination of the Book of Kells, was made to contain a remnant of the true Cross sent by the Pope to Turlogh O'Conor in 1123. O'Hechan, a monk in County Roscommon, made it before 1150.

These pieces of craftsmanship, admirable as they are, have, however, to be compared with what Europe was producing elsewhere. York Minster and Notre Dame de Paris were built before Cormac's Chapel: the best that Ireland could devise was still far behind contemporary work. Yet the craftsmen who built Cormac's Chapel, or made the Cross of Cong, could have built or made anything under direction; and there is every reason to believe that the seed introduced by St Malachy and his monks at Mellifont would have spread and multiplied—for Mellifont was of the same order of work as the great masterpieces in Gothic.

Possibly through the agency of the Church something might have been done to advance civilisation in other directions than that of art or learning, and make progress towards a more peaceful and united political state. It was attempted. In 1126 the Annals say: "A great storm of war throughout Ireland in general, so that Kellach, successor of St Patrick (that is, Primate of Ireland), was obliged to be for one month and a year absent from Ardmacha establishing peace among the men of Ireland and good customs in every district among the laity and clergy." Yet this year does not seem to have been much worse than others, and it contains none of the many instances in which Irishmen robbed and destroyed Irish churches—as was of frequent occurrence since the Danish wars began. In 1133 the clergy of Connaught and Munster induced Conor O'Brien,[1] King of Munster, and Turlough O'Conor, King of Connaught, to come to a conference and make a year's peace. But no improvement followed. In all the chronicle of petty wars which fills the first half of the twelfth century in Ireland one fact only stands out—the growing power of the O'Conor dynasty. They had, it seems, learnt something of military art from Europe—the need for establishing and holding lines of communication. There are many mentions of bridge-building in this period, but not less many of destroying bridges. The O'Conors realised that bridges must be protected. In 1124 they built three castles: at Ballinasloe, at Galway, and at Collooney, each commanding an important

[1] The use of surnames began in the period after Brian Boru, some important person being chosen to give his name to the family. Either *Mac*, that is, son of, or *ua*, that is, descendant of, was prefixed. Thus O'Brien, descendant of Brian.

river crossing. In 1129 they built a bridge and a castle at Athlone.

Yet six years later bridge and castle at Athlone were destroyed. The forces of destruction were too many for the forces of construction in the Irish State. St Bernard undoubtedly reflects the opinion of Europe when he says that Malachy was " born in Ireland of a barbarous people " ; and he indicates one mark of what doubtless seemed to him barbarism : " Ireland is not one kingdom, but is divided into many."

All this explains much when we consider the attitude of the Irish clergy to the coming of the Normans.

Another fact should be borne in mind to illustrate Ireland's position in Christendom. The first Crusade began in 1097, two years after St Malachy's birth ; the second in 1147, the year before his death. They were an international effort of European Christendom, to which recruits flocked from all countries on the Continent, and from England, now Norman and continental in its rule ; but none came from Ireland. That stamps Ireland's remoteness from continental Christendom. Also, in the period of crusades, the institution of chivalry took its shape. The profession of arms in so far as it was identified with knighthood came under the special protection of the Christian Church. Continental Europe, to which the Norman conquest had annexed England, was in truth at this period remarkably homogeneous. The organisations of the Church, the institutions of feudalism, the rules of chivalry, were the same in France, Spain, Italy, Germany, or rather in all the petty States out of which these nations grew. Literature in all of them had a common character ; but the *Chanson de Roland* has no kinship with the story of Cuchulain or the Ossianic tales ; they belong to a different racial tradition. But the essential feature of the difference lay in all the ideas connected with knightood. To continental Europe knighthood was international, a warrior caste of all Christendom in which every member of the caste was bound to recognise obligations in honour, courtesy, and fairplay to another. But a consequence was that to this caste all outside its ranks seemed barbarous ; its class-spirit, chivalrous perhaps to its own order, allowed the knight to treat all below or beyond his class with scorn and cruelty, and without good faith. Ireland's fighters, outside the Crusades, were outside the pale

of chivalry. It is even to-day difficult to make the statesmen and soldiers of a civilised power observe the rules of civilisation in dealing with a power that they count inferior in rank. It is often difficult also to prevent the Churches from forgetting to consider the claims of justice where they believe that the progress of civilisation may be advanced by breaking down a backward state. In the twelfth century neither kings nor warriors nor Popes had much consideration for the rights of a weak people.

CHAPTER VIII

THE COMING OF THE NORMANS

At the opening of the twelfth century in Ireland the Kings of Thomond were predominant. Murtough O'Brien destroyed Ailech and made his " circuitous hosting " without opposition in 1101. But later the tide turned : by 1114 Donnell O'Loughlin of Ailech secured hostages from all northern Ireland, and from Meath. Meath had now ceased to count in the first rank of Irish powers. In Munster, Murtough O'Brien was old and stricken with a wasting illness. But in Connaught a new and formidable rival appeared. This was Turlough O'Conor, for whom the Cross of Cong was made. For the next forty years this O'Conor was a terror to Ireland. He began by breaking up the power of Munster, weakened by the loss of Murtough ; and he divided it again into the two sovereignties of Desmond and Thomond. Soon the death of Donnell O'Loughlin took from the North its trusted leader ; and Turlough pressed his claim to effective headship of Ireland by all the old means, and by new ones also. In 1126 he ravaged Leinster, and then set up his son Conor to be King of Leinster and of Dublin—the two being now always more or less closely associated. This attempt to supersede hereditary succession in a provincial kingship by introducing a ruler from another province had not been seen in Ireland since the days of Niall of the Hostages and his sons. It failed in Leinster ; but Turlough held to the idea, and seventeen years later he renewed the experiment and made Conor king in Meath. But next year a noble of Meath killed the new king because he " considered him as a stranger in sovereignty over the men of Meath."

Another innovation was Turlough's frequent use of the sea for war. He had in West Connaught the most seafaring part of the Irish population ; and he sent ships plundering up

even to Tory on the north of Donegal. Yet the kingdom of Ailech was unshaken. Conor O'Loughlin, Donnell's successor, was recognised as ruler of all that is now Ulster. The O'Briens too, though not able to resist Connaught separately, sought every alliance that might help them to overthrow the O'Conors, and for this purpose in 1137 Conor O'Brien gave hostages to the powerful King of Leinster, Dermot MacMurrough—a name of destiny for Ireland.

This king, whose royal seat was at Ferns, was perhaps not more brutal in his methods than others of his day in Ireland or on the Continent. But the annalists record condemnation of his treachery when he killed the rulers of two petty states in the north of Leinster and blinded or killed seventeen men of their kindred. In 1145 it is noted that "all Ireland was a trembling sod" with war. Dermot had now decided to abandon the O'Briens and league himself with Turlough O'Conor. In 1151 took place the Battle of Moanmore, in which Connaught, Leinster, and Meath joined hands to break the power of Thomond, one of the bloodiest defeats recorded in the Annals.

In the next year there was a meeting in Meath between Turlough O'Conor, Murtough O'Loughlin, King of all Ulster, and Dermot MacMurrough. These three were the outstanding powers in Ireland. They arranged to divide Meath between two claimants; just as earlier in the same year Turlough had once again divided Munster between the O'Briens of Thomond and the MacCarthys of Desmond. They made a further territorial arrangement, taking away what is now County Longford from Tiernan O'Rourke, Prince of Brefny. On the expedition which enforced this surrender Dermot MacMurrough carried off with him, to Ferns, Dervorguilla, O'Rourke's wife, a willing captive.

It is said that Dermot's main motive was to put an insult on O'Rourke. Dervorguilla was at this time forty-four, Dermot forty-two, and O'Rourke sixty. The lady was brought back next year to the care of the "men of Meath," whose king was her brother, a MacLoughlin. Some say she entered a convent, some that she went back to O'Rourke. At all events she was one of the benefactresses of the new monastery of Mellifont; and she caused to be built also a very beautiful chapel in a nunnery which she founded at Clonmacnoise; and she was buried there under the privileges

of St Kieran's cemetery many years after the Norman Conquest—in bringing which to pass her share is not very considerable. There was, however, a bitter feud from this time between Dermot and Tiernan.

1156 saw the death of Turlough O'Conor, and it is noted as the " first year of Murtough O'Loughlin over Ireland " ; but he was only " king with opposition." The O'Briens gave hostages to the new King of Connaught, Rory O'Conor, who, with Tiernan O'Rourke for another ally, continued to challenge the northern power. But by 1161 Murtough was recognised High King without opposition.

There was, however, no solid fabric of power. The Ulidians first began to turn on the High King, and in 1166 Murtough had recourse to methods like those of Dermot MacMurrough. He blinded Dunlevy, King of Ulidia (that is, the modern Down and Antrim), and he killed the three foremost men of Dalaradia in spite of pledges given for their protection. The guarantors rose against him, and in a battle at the Fews, or Gap of the North, the High King fell. This left the way open for Rory O'Conor, who first marched on Tyrconnell and took hostages ; thence, with the men of Connaught and Meath, he proceeded to Dublin, and " was there inaugurated king as honourably as any king of the Gael was ever inaugurated." But no king of the Gael had ever before been inaugurated at Dublin. This fact marks a change in Ireland, the growing importance of its greatest town.

It marks also a move in policy. O'Conor officially stamped the Danes as his subjects by giving them their stipend, the payment which each over-king made to his inferiors ; but the payment was huge, 4000 cows. Evidently Rory was determined to detach Dublin from Leinster ; for he had it in his mind to deal with MacMurrough. Oriel submitted to the new High King : he went into Munster with a hosting and re-established the division between O'Briens and MacCarthys—which henceforth was permanent. Ossory also submitted to him. But in Leinster he banished Dermot MacMurrough and burnt his castle at Ferns. The army which carried out this expulsion was led by Tiernan O'Rourke, who thus had his revenge.

The expulsion of a king was not unprecedented. In 1150, and again in 1156, a MacLoughlin was banished from his principality in Meath by the greater kings in Ireland ; and

in the second case Donough MacLoughlin was excommunicated by the clergy for killing a noble in violation of guarantees given by the clergy and by other kings. Such expulsion was an action quite different from the common wars of conquest. Leinster was not plundered by the forces which expelled Dermot, and his brother (called Murrough of the Irish to distinguish him from Dermot of the Foreigners) was set up as King of Leinster. It is not clear on what ground Dermot was expelled ; but certainly it was not solely, and probably not chiefly, for the abduction of Dervorguilla.

Dermot, however, did what no other banished Irish ruler had done : he went to look for help in Britain. Yet all Irish kings had been for two centuries quite ready to call in to their aid those foreigners who were settled in Ireland. If Dermot looked further afield, the reason is probably that he was more in touch with Britain than any other Irish king. His territory lay nearest to that part of England which had most commerce with Ireland ; Bristol was the great trading port for Ireland, and to Bristol Dermot turned. The Bristol trade would be necessarily carried on with the three great trading and shipping centres of Dublin, Wexford, and Waterford, all of which had at one time or other acknowledged the King of Leinster as their overlord. Through them Dermot must have known more of England and of the possibilities that lay in England's power than any other Irish king.

It is true also that he fled to Britain because he had no one in Ireland to turn to. The last High King at this time exercised real power. Rory O'Conor began his career of monarchy with a new spirit. For a century and a half, since Malachy succeeded to Brian Boru, no High King had come to power without opposition ; and plainly Ireland was sick of turmoil. A great meeting was convened " by Rory O'Conor and the chiefs of Leath Cuinn, both lay and ecclesiastic, and the chiefs of the foreigners," at Tlachtga, now the Hill of Ward, near Athboy. Many thousand horsemen mustered there—6000 from Connaught, 4000 with O'Rourke of Brefny, 2000 with MacLoughlin, King of Tara, 4000 from Oriel, 2000 from Offelan, and 1000 with the Danes of Dublin. " They passed many good resolutions at this meeting respecting veneration for churches and clerics and control of tribes and territories, so that women used to traverse Ireland alone." They parted " in peace and amity, without anyone complaining of another,

at that meeting, in consequence of the prosperousness of the king who had assembled these chiefs with their forces." Then a hosting was called which marched north and settled a division of Tir Eoghain into two parts.

That same year Dermot MacMurrough came back, and the first Norman warrior with him.

Nobody in Ireland appears to have realised the importance of the new factor which Dermot MacMurrough introduced, or to have anticipated what seems now to us the inevitable course of events. The crown of England was then held by one of the most powerful and ambitious monarchs that ever ruled in Europe, and all Europe was still possessed with the idea of empire, a rule uniting diverse peoples and nations and languages under a common system. Henry II. at one period of his career came within range of creating an empire : his dominions from the first were more than a kingdom. He had at his command, if he did not himself possess, all the statecraft, the military skill, and the general culture of his time. In equipment he was incomparably ahead of any Irish ruler ; south and north of Europe blended in him. But in morals he was as cruel and unscrupulous as the worst that could anywhere be found.

From the beginning of his reign he had contemplated the conquest of Ireland. One must clearly understand that by the standard of his age a king might not only justifiably but laudably undertake conquest wherever he found an opening ; and in many cases he could secure the highest ecclesiastical sanction. In the case of Ireland, Henry had secured it long years before he acted. From the Pope Adrian IV., an Englishman, he got the Bull known from its opening word as " Laudabiliter," " Laudably and profitably hath your excellence conceived the design." Henry's design was represented as that of " enlarging the borders of the Church, teaching the truth of the Christian faith to the ignorant and rude " : in other words, as that of bringing Ireland into the pale of Christian civilisation. That Ireland was Christian, the Pope was well aware ; for in 1152 the Papal Legate, Papiron, had been sent from Rome bringing the archiepiscopal palls, and bringing them not for two archbishoprics but four—Tuam and Dublin being raised to this dignity along with Armagh and Cashel. In short, the Irish Church had just been fully organised from Rome. Yet St Bernard, only two or three years before 1152,

had written of Ireland, on the testimony of an Irish saint, as a country relapsed into barbarism; and though he had written also of the success which attended Malachy's effort to restore the standard of Christianity, less weight may have been attached to this part of his utterances.

The plain fact is that Ireland, which up to the ninth century was fully abreast of northern Europe in point of civilisation, had now fallen far behind. Probably every ecclesiastic of that day conceived civilisation as meaning the same things as Christianity; and Adrian IV., the Englishman, knew well that the Norman Conquest had, despite all its brutality, advanced England enormously in the scale of civilisation.

Henry II., who neglected nothing, desired to represent the conquest of Ireland as a laudable work; and he procured the most official justification that he could find. Yet he would certainly not have been deterred from the attempt by lack of justification; the reason for his delay in making it is to be found in preoccupation with his possessions and conquests in what we now call France—of which he held nearly one-half. When Dermot, a fugitive, went to ask help from the King of England, he had to follow Henry almost to the Pyrenees.

Far the best account of the Norman Conquest is given in a Norman-French poem written probably at Waterford by one who derived his knowledge from Morice Regan, an Irishman, Dermot's Latimer—that is, secretary employed to put the Irish king's correspondence or speech into Latin, which was then the international language. It tells how Dermot, finding himself deserted by all his subjects, took ship with sixty-four followers for Bristol, went to the house of Robert Harding, a Bristol merchant, and was hospitably received. Harding had doubtless carried on trade with Dermot's subjects, and possibly with him direct. Leaving Bristol, the Irish king went on his wandering after Henry, from Normandy all down the east of France, till at last far south in Aquitaine he came up with the king's camp, and offered to be Henry's liegeman in return for help that should restore him. Henry sent Dermot back to Bristol with an order on Harding to provide for him, and with letters patent authorising his subjects in every part of his dominions to assist Dermot in recovering his kingdom. Dermot then began a quest for knights who would undertake the adventure. The chief man whom he

found was Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke and Striguil, nicknamed Strongbow. Strongbow, however, had been in trouble with Henry, had suffered forfeiture, and now said that before he acted he must get definite licence. Henry's reply, granting him permission to try his fortune in Ireland, was said to be rather jesting than serious; and the Earl was slow to act on it. Meanwhile Dermot had gone to St Davids and seen Rhys, then King of South Wales. Here he got in touch with a family of true adventurers, half-Welsh, half-Norman. No less than eighteen sons or grandsons of Rhys's daughter Nesta took a leading part in the conquest. These were the FitzHenrys (sons of her son by Henry I.), the Fitz-Geralds, the de Barris, and Robert FitzStephen, her son by her last marriage. Gerald de Barri, the monk and man of letters (historian of the Conquest), known as Giraldus Cambrensis, was her grandson. All this kindred came to be known as the Geraldines.

There was delay in getting together an expedition; and Dermot, having no doubt intelligence that the way was open, returned to Ireland and re-established himself at Ferns. One knight, Fitzgodebert, probably of the Flemings who were established in Pembrokeshire, came with him, bringing a small force. Rory O'Conor, the High King, hearing of Dermot's return, marched against him with contingents from Tiernan O'Rourke and the Danes of Dublin. There was a small engagement in which the Leinstermen were defeated; after which Rory O'Conor accepted Dermot's submission and allowed him to resume possession of the region known as Hy Kinsella, that part of Leinster which centred round Ferns. At the same time Dermot made atonement to O'Rourke for the abduction of Dervorguilla by a payment fixed on award.

During the year 1168 there was no further movement among the Normans, who no doubt heard of Dermot's discomfiture. But the Leinster king did not relinquish his project, and sent over Morice Regan, his interpreter, as an envoy to renew offers to the adventurers. Strongbow did not stir; but Nesta's descendants made ready. Her son Robert Fitz-Stephen got together a force in which were three of her grandsons. It consisted of thirty knights, sixty other mail-clad men, and about three hundred archers—a new feature in Irish war. The whole expedition, numbering about six hundred

in three ships, landed at Bannow in South Wexford at the beginning of May 1169. Dermot joined them with about five hundred men, and together they marched on Wexford. There, as at Dublin and at Waterford, but nowhere else in Ireland, walls repelled the attackers, and the first attempt was unsuccessful. But the Wexford men, knowing that these Normans had methods of attack unknown to the Irish, decided to surrender. Next day they gave hostages, and allowed their town to be garrisoned and held. This marks a new departure in Irish campaigns.

Dermot and his " English," who, it should be remembered, were not English but French-speaking Norman Welsh, probably with an admixture of Flemings and of pure Welsh, proceeded to Ferns ; and his first project was to subdue the strong subkingdom of Ossory. He was no longer solely dependent on his allies ; success had gathered to him a body of three thousand Irish fighting men. At a pass in the hilly and densely wooded country between Wexford and Kilkenny, MacGillapatrick, King of Ossory, made resistance. During the Middle Ages in many parts of Ireland progress was possible only along forest tracks, as in the African bush to-day. Cavalry could not operate, and the Irish understood well how to fortify these passes by dykes and ditches across the track, with a palisade or entanglement of branches on top ; while on each flank the woods were " plashed "—that is to say, rendered impassable by felling trees so that their branches interlocked.

The fight lasted from morning till evening, when " by the might of the English the stockade was won " and the attackers broke through and plundered Ossory. But resistance was not broken, and the little army marching home with its spoil had to traverse another dangerous pass. The Irish under Dermot's son, Donnell Kavanagh, broke and disbanded ; Dermot himself remained always with the English as his bodyguard. Yet once again trained military skill won ; the knights got on to open ground where they could charge with lances on the unarmoured Irish, and Donnell Kavanagh's troops, seeing the rout, drew together again and slaughtered the flying.

Dermot's prestige now increased, and where he did not find submission he was able to exact it, subduing the north of Leinster up to the valley of the Liffey. He attacked Ossory

again and was again victorious, but failed to capture MacGillapatrick.

At this point came a break in the successes. Maurice de Prendergast, with his following of two hundred, went over to the side of Ossory. In the meantime Rory, the High King, assembled a great hosting to march on Leinster and break down the new power. Dermot was forced to withdraw to a fortress on the wooded slopes of Mount Leinster, a day's march from Ferns, where he was unassailable. The High King parleyed, and finally a compact was arranged by which Dermot should be acknowledged as King of Leinster, he recognising the supremacy of the High King and giving as a hostage his son Conor. There was also a secret article which stipulated that Dermot should bring no more foreigners into Ireland, and should send back those he had when he had established his rule in Leinster.

Then the hosting withdrew. Like all such forces of the High King, it was an irregular body of contingents from many territories summoned for one occasion, and it had probably already broken up when news reached Dermot that Maurice FitzGerald, another son of Nesta, had landed with two hundred men, a force equal to that which had joined Ossory. Dermot was able to march north and push MacGillapatrick and Prendergast back out of Leix. Presently dissension arose between the men of Ossory and their Normans, which ended in Prendergast's withdrawal to Waterford, whence he returned with his party to Wales.

In the spring of 1170 Dermot decided to reassert his claim to be overlord of Dublin. He had been so recognised, and the song of Dermot names "MacTorkil," King of Dublin, as among the traitors who deserted him when he was driven out. Marching north, with Maurice FitzGerald in command of the English, he entered the Daneland, and the citizens, to save their possessions, gave hostages for submission. Meantime it is to be noted that FitzStephen remained in Wexford, busying himself with the first of those operations by which the Normans really conquered Ireland. At Carrick, on a rock over the Slaney, just above Wexford, he built the first Norman castle.

Meanwhile Dermot MacMurrough was definitely planning to secure the High Kingship for himself, and took counsel with FitzStephen and FitzGerald, who told him that the thing could

easily be done if he got more troops from England. He therefore renewed his offer to Strongbow, who on his part once more approached Henry for leave to accept it. Formal authorisation was withheld, but Strongbow got as much encouragement as determined him on the attempt ; and in the summer of 1170 he sent an advance party under Raymond FitzGerald, another of Nesta's grandsons. This party landed at a place called Dundonnell, identified as Baginbun, a headland about fourteen miles from Waterford. Here Raymond entrenched himself : his whole force, with thirteen knights and seventy archers, cannot have reached two hundred. They were attacked in great strength by the citizens of Waterford, who got allies from Dermot's enemies ; they were perhaps five thousand in all. Raymond, most famous of all the Norman fighting men who made the conquest, sallied, was driven back into his fort, but then drove out a whole mob of captured cattle through the gap of his entrenchment. This stampede broke the attackers, who fled, and Raymond's party killed and captured thrice their own number. So many were the prisoners that it was decided to kill them and throw them over the cliff. Some time after this preliminary success Strongbow landed in the Waterford River with two hundred knights : Raymond brought forty more to join him. They marched from their landing-place to the gates of the walled town, in one of whose walls stood the circular Reginald's Tower that is still in its place. The first siege in Irish history took place : Waterford was carried by assault, and in the captured city a few days later Strongbow was solemnly married to Dermot's daughter Eva (Aoife) whose hand brought with it the promise of succession to Dermot's kingdom.

This promise, if it were to be fulfilled, meant a complete change in the government of Ireland. No woman ruled, and no man could rule by virtue of his marriage to a woman. No king, moreover, had the right to determine his successor ; although it is clear that transmission of rule was becoming more generally from father to son than it had been in earlier centuries. Dermot himself seems to have become King of Leinster at the age of seventeen, which would not have happened in the period before the Danish wars. But above all, the introduction of a ruler who was alien not only to the family in which rule had rested, but to the whole population, was an absolute innovation. It has been seen how Turlough

O'Conor's attempt to set up an O'Conor in Meath was resented and defeated.

Leaving Wexford and Waterford held by Norman garrisons, and FitzStephen still busy fortifying Carrick on the Slaney, Dermot with Strongbow marched on Dublin in September 1170. Their coming was foreseen, and Hasculf, ruler of Dublin, appealed to the High King, who drew together the hostings of Connaught, Meath, Brefny, and Oriel ; Tyrone and Tyrconnell took no part. In that spring the ruler of Tyrone, Murtough O'Loughlin's son, who was regarded as "royal heir of Ireland"—that is, next to be High King,—had been killed by some of his own people at Armagh.

The main Irish force lay at Clondalkin, and detachments were sent to hold the passes on all the recognised roads, either on the east or west of the mountain chain which runs southward from Dublin to Wexford. But under Dermot's guidance the army, about eight thousand strong, avoiding the plashed woods and trenched roads, kept to "the mountains and the hard field and the open ground," and so coming unexpectedly down, took up its position before the city—between the Danes and the High King. At once envoys came from the city to a parley, and the party was headed by Lorcan O'Toole (St Laurence), the first Archbishop of Dublin. Rory O'Conor made no move to attack ; and the parleying outside Dublin lasted for some considerable time, when suddenly a party of the Normans under Miles de Cogan, leader of the vanguard, who were near the walls, made a rush and delivered an assault without orders. In that way Dublin fell on 21st September 1170, and became the chief fortress of a new and stronger race of foreigners. Hasculf with many of his men escaped by ship ; Rory's host withdrew without a blow struck. Oriel and East Meath, terrified into submission, sent in their hostages to Dermot, who, having attacked West Meath and the territory of his old foe O'Rourke, returned to winter in his own place at Ferns. Strongbow, leaving de Cogan in charge of Dublin, went to Waterford where his garrison had been threatened and harassed by the men of South Munster.

Dermot and Strongbow combined were now plainly the dominant power in Ireland. Connaught was occupied with war against Thomond. Tyrconnell and Tyrone had no strong ruler to unite them, and the King of Ulidia distinguished himself in this year only by plunder and expulsion of the monks

from the monastery founded by St Malachy at Patrick's first Church of Saul. Tiernan O'Rourke was still active and menacing; but nowhere in Ireland was there evidence of a power able to cope with this new combination.

So great a success disturbed Strongbow's suzerain. Henry II., deeply engaged on the Continent, was now at the climax of his strife with Thomas à Becket, who returned to England in December 1170, to be murdered at Canterbury. The reaction against this deed threatened Henry's whole position, and, evidently fearing lest this Irish adventure might slip out of his control, he issued an order summoning all his subjects in Ireland to return to England under pain of outlawry and forfeiture. Strongbow replied that he had come to Ireland with Henry's licence to aid Henry's liegeman Dermot to recover his territories. This was a recognition of Henry's suzerainty over Dermot's possessions. Strongbow added that whatever he had won and held in Ireland he would hold at Henry's will.

Dermot died at Ferns in May 1171. It became evident at once that even in Dermot's own borders men were not willing to submit to him who claimed to be Dermot's heir. Leinster rose in revolt; and the High King, seeing an occasion, summoned all Ireland to a hosting against Dublin. A fleet hired from the Danes of Man and the Western Isles blocked the Liffey mouth, while the army in different camps lay along all the roads converging on Dublin. Leinstermen under the son of Dermot's brother, "Murrough of the Irish," were at Dalkey, through which led the road southward between the mountains and the sea; MacDunlevy, the King of Ulidia, was at Clontarf with his host: Donnell O'Brien and the forces of Thomond at Kilmainham. The main body under the High King lay at Castleknock. Tiernan O'Rourke was there with Brefny, O'Carroll with Oriel, MacLoughlin with the men of Meath. Only Desmond from the extreme south, and Tyrone and Tyrconnell from the extreme north, were absent.

The sole idea of the besiegers appears to have been a reduction of the place by famine, and it was nearly successful. Strongbow himself was in command, and the situation looked desperate. Moreover, word came in that Wexford had turned against the Normans: FitzStephen was beset in Carrick and could not hold out. It was decided to parley, and under a flag of truce Archbishop O'Toole and Maurice de Prendergast

(who had returned to Ireland in Strongbow's army) were sent to offer that Strongbow should acknowledge the High King and hold Leinster as his subject. Rory answered that the Normans might keep the cities which had always belonged to the Danes, but no more. The Earl decided to fight, and a sally was made immediately. No Irish can have been close to the walls, for the little force of some six hundred men crossed the Liffey by its wicker bridge unopposed. Dividing into three bands, each consisting of knights, bowmen, and foot-soldiers, they made a sudden swift descent on the main camp at Castleknock. The attack was wholly unexpected, and an utter rout followed. Rory's army was scattered, immense booty taken, and the citadel amply reprovisioned; the forces at Clontarf and Dalkey withdrew, and all was over. Strongbow instantly pushed south from Wexford to release FitzStephen, but he had been already taken. Strongbow, hearing that he was a prisoner on an island in the harbour and would be killed if the town were attacked, pressed on to Waterford and set himself to reduce Leinster. "Murrough of the Irish," who had been in command at Dalkey, submitted and was accepted as Lord of Hy Kinsella. Meanwhile Donnell O'Brien of Thomond had decided once more to abandon allegiance to the High King, and allied himself with Strongbow for the reduction of Ossory. Thus in the south Norman power prevailed. At Dublin Miles de Cogan, left in command, had to repel an attack made by that persistent warrior, Tiernan O'Rourke of Brefny; and later, a separate descent from the sea. This was undertaken by Hasculf, whom the Normans had driven out in the previous year. He came now with a strong fleet, in which was a famous berserker, "John the Wode," of the royal house of Norway. Mail-clad men on both sides, they met on the level ground outside the walls of the fortress, about where Dame Street and College Green now are; but the superior skill of the Normans prevailed. A flank attack by a force of cavalry sent out from the western gate to make a detour was successful, and the Norse were driven back to their ships with great slaughter. John the Wode was killed fighting, Hasculf taken and put to death. From this time for many centuries the possession of Dublin was not disputed, and the English never lost it.

While all this was passing, Henry II. had decided that it was time for him to intervene personally, and he mustered a

great host on the Welsh border. Marching leisurely through Wales—where also the royal authority needed to be asserted—he reached Pembroke. Strongbow had joined him before this to proffer allegiance. On Oct. 16th, Henry, with a fleet of four hundred ships, arrived at the Waterford River, and next day entered Waterford, where Strongbow formally surrendered the city to the king and did homage for Leinster. Henry accepted his homage, and granted to him Leinster to hold as a fief. So began the new order in Ireland. Henry claimed rights as overlord to what his vassals had conquered, and by accepting their homage he confirmed to them their right of conquest and pledged himself to uphold them in it. The conquest became clearly conquest not by a group of adventurers, but by a great European Power.

CHAPTER IX

THE FIRST STAGES OF THE NORMAN CONQUEST

HENRY THE SECOND'S visit to Ireland may justly be described as a triumphal progress. No sword was drawn by him or against him. His work there was the work of a politician rather than of a soldier ; it was the display of an organised power too strong to be challenged. First Waterford saw the actual conquerors of Waterford and Dublin submit to Henry as willing subjects. Next came a piece of calculated play-acting. The Wexford people, who had already approached Henry with a deputation in Wales, now came bringing their prisoner Robert FitzStephen and delivered him to his liege lord to be dealt with. Henry publicly rebuked FitzStephen for having made a raid upon Ireland, and caused him to be imprisoned in Reginald's Tower. The display of anger was of course unreal ; the assertion of authority was no doubt designed to impress Norman adventurers no less than the Irish or the Danish. Henry's anxiety, like that of all the Angevin kings, was to curb the power of these semi-independent vassals. But a further action against FitzStephen had reality. To him, as chief of the first body of Norman auxiliaries, Dermot MacMurrough had granted Wexford and the territory immediately south of it. Henry cancelled this grant. The very thing that Rory O'Connor was willing to part with was that which Henry determined to keep in his own hands, namely, the custody of the seaports facing Britain.

After the Danes of Wexford came the representative of one among the great Irish kingdoms, though now much weakened. MacCarthy, King of Desmond, head of the Eugenian line which had so long ruled in Cashel, "came into Henry's house," swore allegiance to him, gave hostages, and agreed to pay tribute.

Henry's next movement showed a new side of his policy. From Waterford he marched to Lismore, the ecclesiastical centre of that region, seat of a bishopric. Its bishop was one of those Irish monks who accompanied St Malachy on his first journey to the Continent and who were left by him on his return at Clairvaux to be trained in the Cistercian discipline. This monk, Christian, pupil first of St Malachy and then of St Bernard, was sent back from Clairvaux to be the first Abbot of Mellifont. Later he became Bishop of Lismore ; and when the Legate Papiron left Ireland after the synod of 1152, Christian of Lismore was named as Papal Legate in preference to all the four archbishops whom that synod had recognised. His training at Clairvaux made him the natural link between Ireland and the more thoroughly Romanised Christianity of the Continent.

This representative of the Pope was the first dignitary in Ireland to whom Henry directed his progress. Henry had the Papal Bull sanctioning and authorising his work of conquest ; he must act in accordance with this pretension. But, further, he needed to make amends if possible in Ireland for what had been done in England by the slaying of Becket.

From Lismore, doubtless by the counsel of Christian, he proceeded to Cashel, seat of the archbishop, and there arranged for a council of the clergy to be held in the city which Murtough O'Brien had granted " to the religious of Ireland in general." Before Henry reached Cashel, Murtough's successor, Donnell O'Brien, King of Thomond, came in person to make submission as his rival MacCarthy had done. The lords of Ossory and of the Decies, now County Waterford, did the same. Munster was now subject and, to all appearance, willingly submissive.

Returning from Cashel to Waterford, Henry arranged for garrisoning the town, which he left in charge of one of his own followers ; passing over all the original conquerors, whose position he desired not to magnify. He sent also representatives of his authority to reside in Cork and Limerick ; but these cities were still held by their own kings ; for Cork and Limerick, though Danish foundations, had become Irish cities. Having arranged all this, Henry marched on Dublin, where great preparation was made to receive him. There was built for him, by his own order, near St Andrew's Church outside the city walls, a royal palace or pavilion of the Irish

fashion, a wonderful example of native wattle-work, in which the patterned interlacing showed through a smooth surface of clay, lime-washed to dazzling white. Here Tiernan O'Rourke at last made his submission to the new power, and the King of Oriel also. Rory O'Conor stayed beyond the Shannon. According to some accounts, he gave submission to Henry's representative; according to others, he claimed that all Ireland's submission was due to him as High King. Evidently there was negotiation, which came to no clear issue. Tyrconnell and Tyrone away in the north stood out; they were at this moment two small principalities, mutually hostile.

There can be little doubt that Ireland at large accepted with willingness the presence of a strong Power which would enforce peace. Nowhere in Europe was it felt necessary that overlordship should rest with a ruler of local race. Henry's subjects in Normandy, in Anjou, in England, in Wales had no common tie of blood or tradition, any more than the patchwork dominions of his contemporary the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. The kings of such realms sought, however, to give unity in two ways; one was the sharing of certain commercial privileges. Everywhere the monarchy found its best support in towns; and Henry immediately set himself to link the town-life of England with that of Ireland, which, however, was mainly Danish. He gave to the citizens of Bristol the right to inhabit Dublin; and he gave to the city of Dublin the liberties and free customs which Bristol possessed; a later grant added freedom from certain tolls and duties through all his dominions. For in Europe, as it was then governed, freedom of movement in our sense did not exist. Each town had certain rights which protected it against the often oppressive power of a local ruler. Everywhere restrictions existed which to our notions would seem tyrannous.

There is no reason to believe that Henry desired to found in Dublin an exclusive colony alien in race; but that was unhappily the effect. Most of the Danish inhabitants appear to have withdrawn; very few Irish became burgesses of the city; and the burgesses, once established, had the power of limiting their own corporation. Dublin, which had been a Danish town, became an English one. Gradually in all the Irish towns the same thing happened. The absence of a Gaelic town-life gave a peculiar and unhappy character to the Norman conquest.

But the main link on which the greater kings of Europe relied in this period to unite their dominions was that of religion. As the great nobles admitted allegiance to the king, so the kings accepted the Pope as of right their overlord. It was certainly Henry's claim that he acted for the Pope in Ireland; and the synod which he caused to be convened at Cashel had for its main purpose to bring the Irish Church into complete conformity with those parts of Christendom which were under Henry's rule. The Irish bishops accepted this view. They are said to have signed letters recognising the right of Henry and his heirs to the kingdom and to have pledged themselves to conform to the usages of the Church in England—a branch of what they regarded as the universal Church, but a branch in closer touch than that of Ireland with the central government of Christian civilisation.

Such Irishmen as Christian of Lismore, St Malachy's pupil, who presided at this synod, and St Laurence O'Toole, who was present at it, must have felt that what Ireland needed most was peace. The churchmen in Ireland had laboured assiduously, as the Irish Annals show, to bring peace to the country, and had failed. It was natural that they should welcome any authority able to establish peace—the more so if that authority came with a commission from the head of the Church of Christendom.

Yet peace was not what Henry brought to Ireland; nor was he himself at peace with the Church. Becket's murder was still unatoned; an interdict was threatened; and in England rebellion was ready to break out. The king had no choice but to leave his new possession; and his last actions were not of a kind to make for peace.

He assigned the kingdom of Meath to Hugo de Lacy, a knight who had taken no part in the conquest. Yet the King of Meath had made submission, and his submission had been accepted. Thus conflicting claims were at once set up in the pacified country. Further, to an adventurous warrior, John de Courcy, Henry gave licence to go into Ulster, which had not yet submitted, and there acquire and hold what he could win by the sword.

Briefly, had Henry acted in good faith, his conquest might have been beneficent. He acted in bad faith, and the rule which he established was a curse. Contact with a more developed civilisation brought advantages to a people fitted,

as were the Irish, to learn all that civilisation could teach them. But these advantages were nullified by the new and appalling elements of discord which the conquest brought.

The outstanding fact of the Norman conquest in its early days is that the kings of England were too much occupied with their other dominions to attempt seriously the personal government of Ireland themselves. No other form than personal government was then recognised, and the kings were always jealous of any personal power that was not their own. They did not want a strong and efficient governor in Ireland lest his personal power might develop into independent sovereignty.

When Henry II. left Ireland, the cities of Dublin, Wexford, and Waterford were held by strong garrisons. Strongbow, the real conqueror, was master of all Leinster, which appears to have been for the most part solidly united in his hand. He held it by succession, on a principle not recognised by Irish law or custom ; yet he held it under an arrangement entered into with an Irish king and ratified by marriage with that king's daughter. The beginning of a fruitful union between Norman and Irishman was made by Strongbow ; and it is important to note that the subkingdom of Ossory, often strong enough to rank as almost the equal of Leinster, accepted the Norman's predominance and backed the Norman power.

The second of the Five Fifths of Ireland which had come into Henry's hand was Meath—a kingdom broken up and weakened for fifty years at least before the first Norman landed. Over this kingdom Henry had set Hugo de Lacy, who held solely by the English king's act ; who held a territory far less important than that of Leinster, and held it with no concurrence of any Irish ruler to support his right. Of the two, it was de Lacy with his weaker authority, disputed position, and lesser fief, whom Henry chose to represent him as what we should now call Viceroy, but was then called Justiciar.

In the first year after Henry's departure the difference in the two regions was marked. Tiernan O'Rourke had submitted to Henry ; but he did not admit that by so doing he had forfeited his right to the eastern portions of Meath which he had acquired before the coming of the Normans. O'Rourke raided into the country that he claimed ; de Lacy prepared an expedition against him ; but a parley between the two was arranged. At it there was treachery, and Tiernan O'Rourke was slain. It is clear that an intrigue had been set on foot

between the Norman and a rival claimant in O'Rourke's own clan. The murdered man's head and body were carried to Dublin, where the head was nailed up in one place and the body, feet upwards, in another. Such brutalities were not without example in Irish war, but they were exceptional. The example spread. Next year Donnell O'Rourke, who had aided in the death of Tiernan, was killed by another O'Rourke, who cut off his hand and sent it to the High King. Rory O'Conor nailed it on the top of the castle of Tuam. This was a poor result of civilising influence.

Strongbow had no trouble in that part of Leinster which had now become his ; but, seeking to extend by raiding out into the difficult boggy territory which is now Queen's County, he entered the O'Dempsey's territory of Clanmaliere, and O'Dempsey, a hardy chief, fell on the expedition as it returned with its plunder and killed, amongst others, Strongbow's constable, Robert de Quency.

Next spring Henry called both Strongbow and de Lacy to Normandy for their aid in his war against France. By the autumn he ordered the two great Irish lords back to their territory ; but his military necessities compelled him to withdraw some of the garrison from the seaports, along with certain of the best known leaders.

Yet there was no sign of a movement in Ireland against the foreigners. That began only when the foreigners took action entirely inconsistent with all the professions made by the English king. The Norman forces were not only weakened, they were mutinous. Henry did not send them their pay, and they threatened desertion unless Raymond were appointed to command. Under him they felt confident of success, and of plunder. The concession was made ; and plunder was provided. A raid across the border into the Decies was planned, and Lismore with all its gathered riches was sacked, both city and territory. Yet the King of the Decies and his overking, MacCarthy, had "come into the house" of the English ruler ; they were under his protection.

As the Normans were returning with their spoil in ships by the Blackwater to the sea, a fleet from Cork attacked them ; and MacCarthy marched overland to fall on the remainder of their forces. But both by sea and land the Normans defeated their assailants. Great booty came into Waterford.

Yet, as a natural result, Donnell O'Brien, King of Thomond, seeing MacCarthy's dominions attacked without show of right, thought that his turn would come next, and not waiting to be attacked, drove out the Norman garrison which Strongbow had established at Kilkenny. Rory O'Conor too had come to the same conclusion and formed alliances north and south. In the spring of 1174 Strongbow marched to make war on Munster, and drawing his forces to Cashel summoned help from Dublin. But Donnell O'Brien, supported by a Connaught force under Rory's son, attacked the Dublin reinforcement before it effected its junction and practically annihilated it. Strongbow had to fall back on Waterford. Even here there was revolt; the Danes of the city rose, and Strongbow had to take refuge in an island on the river. Meanwhile Rory O'Conor was organising a hosting of all Connaught and Ulster against the foreigners.

Once more Strongbow was in need of Raymond, who had left Ireland in anger because he was refused the hand of Strongbow's sister Basilia and the constableship of Leinster. These demands were now granted. Raymond raised in Wales a force not much less than that of the original invaders, and landed again at Wexford. He relieved Strongbow, and marching back to Wexford was there married to Basilia. Rory O'Conor's hosting was now in Meath, and had driven the garrison of Trim from its stronghold and destroyed the castle. Strongbow marched straight for the scene, fell upon the Irish host as it was retiring towards the Shannon and scattered it. The castle at Trim was rebuilt, and the whole of Meath more strongly held than ever. In Leinster the grip of the invaders had never seriously weakened.

In the next year Rory O'Conor decided to submit. On 6th October 1175 his envoys, two clerics and one layman, signed the Treaty of Windsor, by which Rory recognised Henry as his liege lord, and Henry recognised Rory as King of Connaught, which land he should hold "well and peaceably as he held it before his lord the King of England entered Ireland, rendering to him tribute." In regard to the rest of Ireland, Rory's position as High King was also recognised. It was to be his duty to enforce the payment of tribute to the King of England from all Ireland, and he was entitled to support from the king's army. But Leinster and Meath, as well as Dublin with the old Daneland, and Waterford

with its Danish territory reaching to Dungarvan, were wholly under English jurisdiction ; with them Rory had no concern.

Probably as part of the compact Rory O'Conor at this time got Norman assistance in attacking Donnell O'Brien of Thomond, with whom he had been allied only two years earlier to defeat Strongbow. The Connaught forces ravaged Thomond at large, while Raymond le Gros made a sudden swoop on Limerick with about a thousand men of all arms. He was guided across Ireland by MacGillapatrick, King of Ossory, an old enemy of the O'Briens. The knights succeeded in fording the narrow branch of river which divides the old city from the eastern bank, and their armour protected them from missiles ; the town was captured and garrisoned. Next spring Donnell blockaded the garrison, and Raymond was forced to march west again with a new expedition. This time the Dalcassians met them half way, near Cashel, in a prepared position ; but once again the Norman cavalry broke through the barricaded pass.

Negotiations for peace followed. Donnell O'Brien made peace with the High King and gave him the hostages which, under the Treaty of Windsor, Rory O'Conor was bound to hold on behalf of Henry.

Immediately came an illustration that parts of Ireland at least were willing to welcome the new overlord as a redresser of ills. MacCarthy, King of Desmond, sent to solicit English aid against his son who had deposed and imprisoned him. Raymond accordingly marched on Cork, reinstated MacCarthy, and doubtless exacted the pay which he had been promised. Then he returned to Limerick, probably regarding Thomond as the chief source of danger. Here suddenly and secretly news reached him from his wife. Strongbow was dead, but his death was too dangerous a piece of intelligence to send openly, and Basilia's message said : " The great jaw tooth which so troubled me has just dropped out " ; therefore he should return at once.

Raymond, in view of a probable rising, decided to concentrate his forces on holding what had been solidly conquered. He committed the custody of Limerick to Donnell O'Brien, who gave hostages for its safe keeping, but, as soon as the Normans were out of it, broke down the bridge and burnt the town. O'Brien himself did not feel able to use it as a strong-

hold against the Normans: he was determined that they should not use it as a stronghold against Thomond.

The fact illustrates the conscious inferiority of the Irish in all that belonged to the military art. The Normans used against them three advantages of superior scientific equipment. The first was the heavy body armour of the mounted knights. This was in many ways a doubtful gain, and it is said that for Irish war the Normans soon learnt to discard all but lance and shield, so as to be more mobile. The second was use of the bow and crossbow, both of which were formidably developed in England. As compared with the Irish sling-stones and javelins, the foreigners' weapons were like rifles against shotguns. This superiority contributed immensely to the third and decisive resource of the conqueror, building castles to hold what they had won.

These were not in the first instance stone buildings, but simply consisted of an artificial hillock of earth with steep sides and a flat space on top. In throwing up the hillock a ditch was formed at its base, and there was generally an outer enclosure defended by a rampart and ditch. But in any case the hillock or mote had a palisade round its upper rim, and within this palisade stood a tall wooden blockhouse, loopholed for archers. Crossbow or bow would kill at a hundred yards.

There was nothing difficult in the construction of such defences, but without some shooting weapon they would be in most cases little better than a trap for the defenders. The Irish had not developed any missile war. They relied chiefly on the light battleaxe which they had adopted from the Danes: and they were terrific with it. Apart from this, they excelled chiefly in speed of movement; on foot in most of the regions where Irish fighting took place they were more mobile than cavalry. But when they succeeded they had no organisation to hold their success.

The Norman superiority of this time was to a large extent, moreover, due to Irishmen's lack of familiarity with their methods. The early conquerors, Raymond especially, de Cogan, and Strongbow himself had successes never equalled in later years. All their exploits too were almost eclipsed by the deeds of another adventurer, John de Courcy, whose career only began after that of Strongbow was ended.

Raymond, whose success in the field and prestige with the troops would have made him Strongbow's natural successor,

had by these very qualities earned Henry's distrust: and messengers were already in Ireland with instructions to recall Raymond when the Earl died. New counsel had to be taken, and Raymond was left in command: but in a few months Henry appointed a new governor, William FitzAudelin, no warrior but a politician. In the force which accompanied FitzAudelin came John de Courcy, a man of huge stature and strength, the extreme type of the knight adventurer. Henry had granted him, half in jest, the lordship of Ulster if he could conquer it; and, without waiting for further orders, de Courcy set out north with a force of twenty-two knights and about five hundred others. Marching along the east coast through Drogheda and Dundalk, he fell suddenly upon the still distinct kingdom of Ulidia and surprised its chief place, Down. The king, MacDonlevy, fled, but gathered his forces and gave battle, ten to one. De Courcy was victorious; Almeric de St Lawrence, ancestor of the Earls of Howth, and Roger le Poer, first of the great Norman-Irish family of Powers, helped him to win. Fighting his way, and building castles where he won, he made himself lord paramount of MacDonlevy's kingdom, which answers to the present counties of Down and Antrim. For eighteen years he was virtually king of this territory, organising and settling it to his own mind, granting minor lordships to barons of his own country in the feudal fashion. Also, as the Normans did everywhere, he propitiated the Church by building monasteries and churches, and strengthened the connection of what he had conquered with England and with Rome by bringing over offshoots from English monastic settlements.

De Courcy's conquest brought the Normans for the first time into direct collision with what half a century earlier had been one of the two strongest powers in Ireland. The northern kingdom of Ailech had survived the southern kingdom of Tara; but here also the process of breaking up into many petty chieftaincies had gone on. In the time of its strength, the kings of Ailech had been overkings of both Tyrconnell and Tyrone, exercising lordship also over Oriel and, less closely, over Ulidia. But when the Normans came to Ireland, the Kinel Connell of Tyrconnell and Kinel Owen of Tyrone were deeply divided; and that division was never healed, while there was constant war between the Kinel Owen and their other border state, Ulidia. In this first year of

de Courcy's operations, Tyrone joined with MacDonlevy, and there was a second Battle of Down, to which came all the clergy of Armagh. But the Irish were defeated, and the Book of Armagh, as well as other "noble relics," was captured by the Normans. Later MacDonlevy had to fight O'Loughlin of Tyrone on the west of him, while he was watching John de Courcy, who lay at Down. Later still in these wars de Courcy's power was found allied with Donlevy's against a hosting of O'Loughlin's. The Kinel Connell, remotest of all, were unreached by the new enemy: but by their constant wars with Connaught they indirectly gave valuable aid to the foreigner, weakening the power which Henry by the Treaty of Windsor had recognised as officially chief among Irish kingdoms.

Yet in truth the Treaty of Windsor was not observed for two years—not even in regard to Connaught. In 1177 Murrough, one of the High King's sons, invited the English to raid his father's kingdom, offering to act as their guide. The pretext was instantly seized, and de Cogan with an expedition of about the same size as de Courcy's crossed the Shannon. But the Connaughtmen took the course of laying their own country waste before this advance. Unable to procure booty, the invaders were in great difficulties, and retired without having gained any advantages.

This expedition is noteworthy as illustrating the attitude of the Church. Cardinal Vivian, an envoy from the Pope, in this year convened a synod at Dublin. He confirmed publicly the Pope's acceptance of the king's right to Ireland, and enjoined obedience to Henry upon all the Irish. Also he formally gave permission to the English forces when on a raid to take provisions stored in the churches if they could not get food elsewhere—provided that the food was paid for. The Connaughtmen's answer was to burn their own churches before the English advance, and to strew crucifixes and sacred images on the roads which the invaders must travel, as a protest against their trespass. Evidently the Roman view of Henry's title did not prevail among the clergy of Connaught, whose chief ecclesiastics had been the signatories of the Treaty of Windsor.

After this expedition Connaught was left unmolested by the Normans for twenty years; but in another part of Ireland the Treaty was torn to shreds. Henry's son John

was created Lord of Ireland, Dominus Hiberniæ. Hugh de Lacy was appointed his deputy, having the government of Dublin and of all Crown lands in North Leinster, in addition to his lordship of Meath. All this was a process of organisation quite compatible with the Treaty of Windsor. But John now proceeded to grant away the whole of Munster, though Henry had accepted the homage of the Munster kings and undertaken their protection. It was clear from this point that the desire of the Normans was not to enforce peace, but to foment war among the Irish, in order that by the help of the Irish they might conquer Ireland and take to themselves the lordships of those who had originally made their peace with Henry.

The whole of Desmond, from Dingle Bay to Youghal harbour, was granted to Robert FitzStephen and Miles de Cogan. To get Desmond they had to conquer it; and Murrough, son of the King of Thomond, assisted them in the conquest. It is hardly conceivable that O'Brien should have known that his kingdom also had been made the subject of a grant. But when FitzStephen and de Cogan, having completed their operations in Cork, marched against Limerick, escorting de Braosa, to whom Thomond had been granted, they saw a broken bridge and the townsmen setting fire to their town. For the time they decided to leave Thomond and Limerick alone; but the region about Cork was held securely.

In Meath de Lacy carried on the work of covering the land with a network of castles until a day in 1186 when he went to inspect the keep which he was building at Durrow. A young warrior slipped up near him, suddenly drew out an axe and cut the Norman's head off so that it tumbled into the castle ditch.

Except in a military sense, the Normans had as yet brought no element of progress to Ireland. No principles of justice, no stable usages of peace, were anywhere established by them. Prince John's visit to the kingdom only weakened the respect which had been earned by the newcomers as fighting-men—and he added petty insults to the too abundant instances of bad faith. On his arrival at Waterford, in 1185, the Irish nobles and princes of the surrounding districts came to offer him their homage, as they had done to Henry. But the young bloods of John's court

plucked the old men by their beards which seemed ridiculous to the shaven Normans and Angevins. According to Giraldus, MacCarthy of Desmond, O'Brien of Thomond, and Rory O'Conor himself had all decided to wait upon John with their submission ; but news of this contumely turned them all back, and they leagued themselves in opposition. Keating, from Irish sources, had a different story, which may probably be another version of the same facts. He says that when the Gaels saw that the Norman intention was to waste the Gaels " between each of their pairs of factions," and that they had no mind to reform religion or correct morals in Ireland—which was the public justification of the Pope's support for the conquest,—the Gaels took thought to rid themselves of the oppression of their people. Accordingly a body of Gaelic nobles gathered together at the house of Conor Maenmoy, son of Rory O'Conor, " and agreed to make him ruler over them." These were O'Brien of Limerick, MacCarthy of Desmond, MacDonlevy, King of Ulidia, Melaghlin, King of Meath, and O'Rourke, King of Brefny. But, " whatever the counsel they adopted, Conor Maenmoy was fatefully slain before they put it into execution." In truth, the enmity between each of the " pairs of factions " was too great for Ireland to offer any united resistance.

CHAPTER X

RISE OF THE GERALDINES AND DE BURGHS

THE Norman conquest of England was swift, decisive, and thorough; it was completed within five years. The conquered country became the chief concern of the conquering race, the kernel of their power; they identified themselves absolutely with what they had won; they made it their own, they became its own people. Since they were at that time the strongest and most progressive stock in Europe, the conquest was entirely beneficent. In Ireland the conquest was slow, straggling, and half-hearted; it was advancing for nearly a century and a half, yet was never complete; for that reason, it was good neither for conquerors nor conquered.

The reason for this slow and ineffectual development of what had been begun by the Norman-Welsh adventurers, lay not in any special strength or obduracy of Ireland's resistance. Ireland never at any moment resisted as a whole, and plainly many of the most powerful Irishmen, both lay and ecclesiastic, would have accepted willingly a conquering overlord who gave the country a more stable system of rule without destroying all native rights, lordships, and institutions. But the ambition of English rulers at this period was directed to the Continent; they were not content to be an island power. They attached little importance to what they had won or could win in Ireland—not more than England in the nineteenth century attached to her possessions in Africa. No sense of any other interest than their own affected them; political conscience, which may be said to exist now at least as an ideal, did not then hamper the statecraft of any layman or churchman. The Norman kings felt and knew that Ireland could wait; no other power was likely to attempt the enterprise of attacking it; and their

own grip on the country was never challenged in its essentials. They held the ports ; and there was no threat to their sea-communications. They could at any time reinforce those who were carrying on the work of conquest.

On the other hand, it is more than probable that all Ireland would have been content to see the coast towns and ports remaining in Norman hands, as they had been in Danish. Scrupulous care to maintain the integrity of a country's soil and the security of its coast-line marks a stage of development more advanced than Ireland had reached in the thirteenth century. The only strong resistance to the Norman occupation of any port was at Limerick, which before the Normans came was virtually the capital of Thomond ; and even here resistance was not prolonged. Thomond lasted as an independent kingdom till the reign of Henry VIII., but before 1200 Limerick had passed finally into Norman possession, so quietly that we cannot date the event. By 1197 it received a charter and was organised as an English city.

But the English never used their command of the sea to effect a speedy and complete subjugation of the whole island. Conquest proceeded mainly, as it had begun, by the private enterprise of licensed adventurers. Ireland was conquered by the resources of English subjects rather than by those of the English State ; and the English kings always feared lest some one of these great barons might conquer in his own right. They had good reason to believe that any subject of theirs who became an effective governor of Ireland for any considerable period might prefer to set up an independent sovereignty. Unable or unwilling to undertake in person the work of extending their power throughout Ireland, they did not supply their deputies with the resources necessary to do the work by the best means ; nor did they leave any powerful man long enough securely in power to carry out the organisation of conquest. The fear of a strong and independent Ireland became a pernicious principle of English state-craft.

Henry II., in 1172, and John, in 1209, came to Ireland with a force on the scale that was used for operations in France ; and in each case submission was all but universal. Conquest by such means would have done at least little material injury ; but no such armament was ever at the disposal of any of the Norman barons. In default of irresist-

ible military force, they used what methods were available, without considering, or being ordered to consider, the effect upon the country which the kings of England now claimed as part of their realm.

The mainspring of conquest was Irish dissension. Quarrels among the invaders were the chief cause which delayed it. It went much faster at first, for Henry II. asserted his authority ; and later, when the barons showed a disposition to act as independent potentates, John as King came over and repressed this sternly. But after John's reign control was more lax, and strife between the new conquerors more frequent. At the outset Norman policy succeeded so well that by the year 1200 all the Danish ports—Dublin, Wicklow, Arklow, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, and Limerick—were secure bases for the conquering power. North of Dublin, Drogheda became under the Normans an important town, and Carrickfergus a strong fortress. John de Courcy's principality of Ulidia was completely subdued and organised. So were the eastern portions of Leinster and Meath—two of the seven great kingdoms which existed at the Norman's coming. The Kings of Desmond, Thomond, Connaught, Tyrconnell, and Tyrone still retained their independence, though Desmond's territory was greatly curtailed. Tyrone and Tyrconnell in the remote north were scarcely as yet touched by Norman power ; but they were constantly at war with each other, and in each, succession to the kingship was disputed.

Power had just passed to the two families which were to hold it for the next four centuries. In Tyrone the O'Loughlins had ruled for many generations, but in 1196 Murtough O'Loughlin was killed by his own people, and for the first time an O'Neill came to the throne. In Tyrconnell, the O'Muldorys and O'Canannans had furnished the rulers ; but in the year after O'Neill's accession in Tyrone an O'Donnell became king in Tyrconnell. Neither of these northern kingdoms was really subdued till the close of Elizabeth's reign, and this part of Ireland was the least affected by Norman or English influence till the Flight of the Earls, under James I.

Connaught was, at the coming of the Normans, the strongest power in Ireland, and the Treaty of Windsor recognised Rory O'Conor as High King. It was not the Normans who deposed him : Rory found himself pushed off the throne by a more vigorous successor, his son Conor Maenmoy, who,

as we have seen, in 1188 was accepted as head of a league which included the Kings of Thomond, Desmond, and Ulidia, having for its purpose to resist the English. But next year Conor Maenmoy was murdered at the instigation of his half-brother, and at once four claimants for the sovereignty were in the field—one being the old High King, Rory. The man who succeeded finally in establishing himself was Rory's younger brother, Cathal Crovderg (Red Fist), and under him the whole of Connaught remained a Gaelic kingdom till his death in 1224.

But Crovderg was king by the power and influence of the English. English power indeed was used both for him and against him. At first he got support from John de Courcy and Hugo de Lacy, who were acting at this time as independent chiefs. But they were beaten by Crovderg's rival, who had the support of a man whose descendants ousted the O'Conors from the lordship of Connaught. William de Burgh had come to Ireland in the reign of King John and acquired lands and power in County Limerick about Castle Connell along the Shannon. Later, the O'Conor whom de Burgh had set up quarrelled with his English allies, and Crovderg, having persuaded de Burgh to change sides, was installed by his aid. The Norman's intention was probably to become the power behind the throne; but Connaught rose against de Burgh's troops when they were billeted for winter and killed them off in detail. Shortly after William de Burgh died, and his heir, Richard, the real conqueror of Connaught, was still a child.

The rise of de Burgh was rendered possible by strife between other Normans. In 1204 de Courcy was treacherously seized by his ally de Lacy. King John, taking de Lacy's side, banished de Courcy and transferred his principality to his captor, and gave with it the title Earl of Ulster. Yet within a few years John had decided that this vassal was too great, and his second expedition to Ireland in 1209 had for its main purpose to reduce the de Lacys. Hugo had now transferred his main seat of power to Carrickfergus, making over Meath to his brother Walter.

The account of John's progress through Ireland in 1209 enables one to see the position forty years after the first landing of Norman troops. Thomond was in much the same position as Connaught. Donnellmore O'Brien, the king whom

Raymond le Gros encountered, had died in 1194, leaving many sons and a disputed sovereignty. The third of them, who ultimately secured it, was Donough Cairbreach, and he, like Crovderg, owed his success to English support. Like Crovderg, he stood by the English and they by him till his death ; and he attended immediately at Waterford to welcome John and do allegiance for Thomond.

We have to see what Thomond meant at this date. That part of the O'Brien kingdom which lay between the Shannon and Cashel, comprising most of the County Tipperary, had been separated off by the Irish themselves fifty years before the Norman conquest, and turned into the subkingdom of Ormonde or East Munster. It was ruled by a separate branch of the O'Briens. This territory had by 1209 largely passed into English hands. Further down the left bank of the Shannon, the present county of Limerick was always debateable land between the Kings of Desmond and of Thomond. The Normans now held it ; it was here that the Geraldines, most famous of all the Norman-Irish families, made their first regular establishment. One grandson of Maurice FitzGerald made his castle at Croom on the Maigue ; another at Shanid on the hills above Foynes. *Crom aboo* was the battle-cry of the house of Kildare, *Shanid aboo* that of Desmond, for centuries after the northern branch had their main seat of power at Kildare and the southern in Desmond. The native kings of Thomond now held little more than the present county of Clare. But Donough Cairbreach acquired by grant from John, on condition of a yearly payment, the castle of Carrigogunnell, about six miles below Limerick on the left bank, with the territory adjoining.

From Waterford John moved into Leinster. This had been Strongbow's fief, and here alone the conquest could with some appearance of truth claim consent from the Irish. But Strongbow had died leaving one child. This daughter of MacMurrough's daughter Eva became, according to feudal law, ward of her father's overlord, King Henry. Henry gave her in marriage to William, the Earl Marshal, ablest and best of his Norman barons. William Marshal was much employed in England and on the Continent, but for six years, from 1206 to 1213, he was in Ireland and did much good. Just below where the Nore and Barrow join, he built a wooden bridge connecting what are now the Kilkenny and Wexford shores ;

and here he founded the town of New Ross, which grew rapidly into an important trading centre. King John's first halt in his journey through Leinster was at New Ross, which he probably reached by water. Thence John proceeded to Kilkenny. Here the Earl Marshal had made the seat of his lordship, establishing a prosperous town in what had been for centuries a considerable ecclesiastical centre, and here he had begun to build the one castle of southern Ireland which was destined to escape ruin through the centuries. From Kilkenny John went to Naas, already held by the branch of the Geraldines who were later to become Earls of Kildare ; and so to Dublin. So far he had met no trace of opposition : and in Meath Walter de Lacy separated himself from his brother and made submission. Here John was joined by Cathal Crovderg, King of Connaught, and Donough Cairbreach, King of Thomond, who obeyed the king's call. The hosting marched through Kells, Louth, and Dundalk to Carlingford, where a castle still bears King John's name ; and there they entered Ulster. Hugo de Lacy retired before them, devastating the country as he fell back on his fortress of Carrickfergus. He did not stay to head the resistance, but took ship ; the garrison showed fight, but the attacking force was too strong.

Thus the Kings of Connaught and Thomond acted as John's vassals. From Tyrone, Hugh O'Neill joined John's host before Carrickfergus as an ally against de Lacy, who had often attacked him ; but he refused to give hostages or recognise the King of England in any way as his overlord. Tyrconnell, remote in the north-west, was unaffected by John's coming or going.

In the south, the king made no visit to Desmond. But the kingdom of the MacCarthys, which at the coming of the Normans had extended from the north of Waterford across to the mouth of the Shannon, was already greatly broken up. Norman conquest was spreading in it from three bases—Waterford in the east, Cork in the south, Limerick in the west. There was, however, as yet no single great Norman holding in Desmond. Powers, Barrys, Roches, and Condons (originally Cantetons) secured estates and built castles along the valleys of the Blackwater and Lee. In West Cork and Kerry the MacCarthys still ruled over the original clans, among whom the O'Sullivans and other tribes, driven out by Normans from the eastern territory, pushed in and settled.

In Desmond, as in Connaught and Thomond, there were rival candidates for kingship, and here too the English were called in to support rival claimants. In 1215 many English strongholds were built in Kerry and West Cork, especially along the numerous havens. In this way the Geraldine lords of Shanid established themselves in the extreme south-west—coming in as allies of one side in the internal wars and getting lands for payment.

But in the first ten years of the thirteenth century neither the northern nor the southern Geraldines were in the first rank of these semi-independent feudal lords who governed great territories, appointing their own courts, and exercising almost every power of absolute monarchy. Nor was there yet any indication of the importance which would be attained by the descendants of Theobald Walter, who came to Ireland with John at John's first visit to the country. Theobald was his *botelier*, or butler, a leading officer of the household, and he got large grants of land in the region north of the Suir about Carrick. This was the beginning of the Butler influence, which was to spread from East Munster into the territory about Kilkenny, in John's day occupied by the Earl Marshal. For Strongbow's successors, like Strongbow himself, failed to transmit their possessions to male heirs. William Marshal had five sons by Strongbow's daughter, and all grew up to be men : yet not one of the five left a son to succeed him. There were many daughters, and consequently the great Leinster fief was broken up and distributed in many marriage portions ; some of which came into the possession of the Butlers, who ultimately acquired a territory as great as that which Dermot MacMurrough transmitted to Strongbow.

It is necessary to understand one effect of feudal law. As King of Leinster, MacMurrough was head of a territory that passed intact to his successor. As Lord of Leinster, vassal to the King of England, Strongbow owned a dominion liable to be broken up without any reference to the will of his subjects. De Courcy and de Lacy, in so far as they replaced the King of Ulidia and the King of Meath, were in the same position.

The effect of this feudal law was in England to promote national unity. The sovereign in England was generally resident in the country, and, as time went on, was so more and more continuously ; the sovereignty became a national institution, and the break-up of the petty principalities

consolidated the nation. But in Ireland the sovereignty was alien and external; the break-up of the larger units into which Ireland was divided meant only the creation of many smaller units, because the central government had only a nominal authority over most of Ireland; it was not strong enough to bind together. It will be seen later that Norman-Irish and Irish alike came to resent and resist this disintegrating operation of the hereditary principle under feudal rule.

The first of the great families to disappear was that of the Marshals. At John's death, the Earl Marshal was the most powerful man in Ireland, and his son William succeeded him as Earl, and lived till 1231, holding great power both in England and Ireland. His brother Richard, succeeding him, found great opposition at Court, and an attempt was made to withhold his Irish lands from him. He came over in revolt and attempted to recover them by the sword, but was treacherously slain at a conference summoned to meet at the Curragh of Kildare, where he maintained the fight single-handed for hours against a host. His three surviving brothers succeeded each other in the earldom; but in 1245 the last of them died, and there was no male of the name left. So ended the Marshals.

The de Lacys were the next to go under. They incurred forfeiture from King John; but were restored to their possessions in Meath and Ulster. But in 1243 Hugo de Lacy died without an heir, and his inheritance passed to the house which in this century made the most surprising advance—that of the de Burghs, whose history must be resumed.

When, in 1209, Crovderg O'Conor went to Carrickfergus in John's hosting, he established a claim to protection in his rights. But he was naturally anxious, and in 1215 he secured a charter which confirmed to him the sovereignty over all Connaught, except Athlone, which the Normans had recognised as the most important strategic point in central Ireland. He may possibly, however, have become aware that John had in the same year granted to the young Richard de Burgh "all the land of Connaught which William his father held of the king." However, while Crovderg lived, Richard de Burgh could not openly attempt to shake his possession. On Crovderg's death, in 1224, his eldest son, Hugh, succeeded;

but, as before, there were rival claimants, and one of them got help from O'Neill and was set up, driving out Crovderg's son who now appealed to the English for help, in virtue of his father's fidelity to them. For a while support was given ; William Marshal, then Justiciar, was a man of honour. When he fell from office, the policy changed ; Hugh O'Conor was ordered to surrender the land which he held by the king's grant to his father, on condition of good service. Hugh, very naturally distrusting the court to which alone he could appeal against such a forfeiture, went into revolt. English forces marched into Connaught, and in the upshot twenty-five cantreds (a cantred is 100 townlands) were granted to de Burgh, while the king retained five cantreds along the Shannon, roughly equivalent to the modern county of Roscommon. Most of what is now County Galway was mastered and owned by Richard de Burgh : the seat of his power was at Loughrea, in the district called after him Clan Rickard ; and in 1232 he built a castle at Galway, rebuilt it when destroyed, and established the town.

The Annalists record in detail how after Hugh O'Conor's death, two sons of Rory O'Conor, the last High King, fought each other while the Norman extended his conquests. In a brief interval, during which Richard de Burgh fell from favour, Felim, son of Crovderg, was chosen as the English candidate for kingship and recognised as king of the whole province. Ultimately, however, after a campaign in which de Burgh took the leading part, Felim O'Conor was forced to accept the title of King of Connaught, but with possession only of the five cantreds in Roscommon ; and these he held only at the king's pleasure.

Richard de Burgh was now lord of far more land in Connaught than the nominal king of the province governed. Under the protection of his castle in Galway the city began to grow and the port to develop its trade. In the extreme west, Irish rule lasted ; the O'Flaherties held Connemara, the O'Malleys the Mayo seaboard and islands. But over the rest of Connaught de Burgh created subordinate lordships in the feudal fashion, granting lands to other lords, who frequently regranted them. Thus he granted virtually the whole of Sligo to Hugo de Lacy (probably in fulfilment of some compact for support, since de Lacy had an old claim competing with de Burgh's). De Lacy regranted half of it to

Maurice FitzGerald, Baron of Offaly, who had by this time risen to great power, and was Justiciar from 1232 to 1245.

Whatever Richard de Burgh granted to de Lacy came back to his own family. His son Walter married de Lacy's daughter, and after de Lacy's death was possessed of her inheritance. Finally, in 1264, Walter became Earl of Ulster, as well as lord of the greater part of Connaught.

Thus by the middle of the thirteenth century an enormous proportion of the English power in Ireland had fallen to two houses, the northern and southern Geraldines, who upon the whole acted in alliance, and the de Burghs ; the strength of the Geraldines lying in Leinster and Munster, that of the de Burghs in Connaught. From 1264 on, the de Lacy inheritance in eastern Ulster made the de Burghs decisively predominant.

During this period the Irish kingdoms of Tyrone, Tyrconnell, and Thomond were still independent ; and in Desmond the MacCarthys were fighting hard to drive back the Norman encroachments. But as yet there was no general combination among the Irish. While Richard de Burgh was conquering the southern part of Connaught, the ruler of Tyrconnell was cutting into the province from the north. Donnellmore O'Donnell, who died in 1241, is said to have been Lord of Tyrconnell, Fermanagh, and Lower Connaught as far as the Curlew mountains, and of Oriel from the plain northwards. This would have given him a territory covering Leitrim and part of Monaghan, as well as Donegal and Fermanagh. As a rule, when O'Donnell was strong, O'Neill was weak. But Donnellmore's successor helped Brian O'Neill to resume the sovereignty of Tyrone, expelling a MacLoughlin who had for a brief while regained it. Evidently an alliance between O'Neills and O'Donnells was contemplated.

They had, in truth, a joint interest in resisting the English. In 1242 Maurice FitzGerald, then Justiciar, using the territory granted him by de Lacy in Sligo for a base, had pushed across the Erne into Tyrconnell and compelled O'Donnell to give him hostages. Five years later FitzGerald led another expedition which sought not only to cross the Erne but to hold and fortify the passage ; and O'Donnell in opposing him was slain. Next year a similar bridgehead across the Bann was established leading into Tyrone ; the old dominions of the Northern Hy Neill, now the chief stronghold of Gaelic

power, were threatened both from east and west. For several years in succession Tyrconnell or Tyrone or both were invaded with varying fortune by the Normans.

There was now, however, a strong reaction all over Ireland. In the south, Fineen MacCarthy carried war into all the English strongholds throughout West Cork. In Connaught, Felim O'Conor's son Hugh took the lead and attacked the English again and again. In Tyrconnell, Godfrey O'Donnell, Brian O'Neill's ally, destroyed FitzGerald's castle at Belleek by the ford of the Erne and pushed down as far as Sligo, which he burnt. But he had to fight his way home, and was killed in the fighting. His death was plainly a blow to the combination now in progress among the Gaels. In the next year Teige O'Brien of Thomond, with Hugh O'Conor, made a joint march with their forces to Caeluisce (Narrow Water) on the Erne, where Brian O'Neill of Tyrone met them by appointment. At this assembly all the nobles present "gave the supreme authority to Brian O'Neill." But Godfrey O'Donnell's successor was not present. Tyrconnell took no part in this notable attempt to revive the High Kingship in a real form, when both O'Conor and O'Brien for the common good set aside their hereditary pretensions to the High Kingship.

Fate continued adverse, and Teige O'Brien died before the plan matured. There was no contingent from Thomond, when in 1260 Brian O'Neill marched into County Down, a centre of English settlement, allied with a Connaught force under Hugh O'Conor. A battle took place outside the city of Down, in which Brian fell and with him many nobles of Ulster and Connaught. There were immediate consequences. Thomond was attacked by the Geraldines; Connaught by de Burgh; and Tyrone by Donnell Oge, the reigning O'Donnell. The Irish king was much more successful in his onslaught upon Irish power than either of the great Anglo-Normans.

Yet the spirit of resistance to conquest was unbroken. In 1261 a force of unusual magnitude was led against Fineen MacCarthy by the Justiciar, supported by all the barons of Munster, but especially John FitzGerald, Seneschal of Munster, head of the southern Geraldines. A rival claimant to Fineen MacCarthy's principality formed, as usual, part of the invading army. The forces met at Callann, in the glen of the Roughty River, which flows out at Kenmare. John FitzGerald was slain, as well as his son Maurice, with eight barons and twenty-

five knights. It was a tremendous victory, and the victor went on to destroy a dozen castles from Macroom to Killorglin. But in the next year, attacking Ringrone fort on Kinsale Harbour, Fineen met his death. The conquest of Desmond was, however, definitely prevented. It only fell to the Earls of Desmond by sheer inability of the Irish in it to accept only one of themselves as ruler. When the Geraldines of Desmond had, by repeated intermarriage and alliance, come to be almost on the same footing as the other chiefs, their lordship was accepted by all the Irish of Desmond ; but this country was never Anglicised.

Thus there was sporadic war over all Ireland, in which the Irish were by no means always worsted. When Art O'Melaghlin, descendant of the line which had furnished so many High Kings and still ruled a district in the west of Meath, died in 1285, it is recorded of him that he had destroyed twenty-seven English castles. Combined action of the English ought to have made this impossible, and combination was far easier for them than for the Irish, in the state to which Ireland had been brought after a hundred years of war with the Normans. Richard de Burgh, the Red Earl, who succeeded to Earl Walter in 1271, became lord of land that stretched from Galway to Carrickfergus. The Geraldine territory was even more extensive, though not united in one hand. No Irish kingdom of that period was equal in extent to either of these ; and both had the power of England behind them against any Irish enemy. But the Geraldines were constantly neutralising the de Burgh force, exactly as Tyrone and Tyrconnell neutralised each other.

It has to be remembered that Ireland was only a degree more than the rest of Europe the prey to the curse of private war and strife between petty principalities. Yet the evolution toward a unifying central rule must have been slower in Ireland than in those parts of Europe which kept some memory of the Roman system. Hardly anywhere else was the spirit of local resistance to any central control so strong ; and the English conquerors, while distracting Ireland with their own dissensions, found their account in fostering those of the Irish.

It was only too easy a game to play. Tyrconnell and Tyrone, the freest from English influence, were perpetually at strife : and the minor states of Ulster grew in importance as the greater ones weakened each other. The MacMahons of

Oriel and the Maguires of Fermanagh inflicted defeat more than once on O'Donnell or O'Neill. In Connaught there were worse and worse disputes over the succession, with constant killings. Irishmen began to realise that the Norman-English principles of transmitting power according to a fixed rule of descent had its advantages; and they invented a device for preserving to the clan its power of choosing a head whom the clan thought fit for sovereignty, and yet avoiding strife on a disputed succession. This was the institution of tanistry, according to which the ruler's successor was chosen from the ruling family while the ruler still lived. One man thus became the acknowledged heir. Unhappily, it frequently happened that opposition to the chosen tanist was set up as soon as he sought to assume power.

It is clear that the Irish social order had been too completely broken up to be restored in the face of any difficulty—perhaps too far to be restored at all; for the pressure of a common danger is often the best cement, and this pressure did not unite Ireland. A complete effective and unifying conquest would have been as great a gain to Ireland as it was to England; for there is no doubt that the Anglo-Normans were as much superior in civilisation to the Irish as were the Normans to the English and the Welsh a hundred years earlier.

Yet what the Normans had done in England the English wholly failed to do in Ireland; they never identified themselves with the country. Geraldines and de Burghs became Irish in the course of years; but the government remained alien. It is true that under English rule the growth of towns was fostered; much also was spent on church-building and the foundation of monastic establishments. But it was the policy to keep the citizenship of towns English so far as was possible, and to restrict thereby the country's commerce to English hands. In the Church, all high dignities were reserved for the foreigner; St Laurence O'Toole had no Irish successor in his archbishopric for centuries. The common religion actually became a means of disunion. Again, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries university life was developing with great rapidity; and nowhere more rapidly than in England under Norman rule: but no counterpart to Oxford and Cambridge was established in Ireland. Yet Ireland was a country avid of literary culture.

Above all, and worst of all, whereas in England the Normans ultimately based their codes of justice on English law, the English in Ireland repudiated Irish law altogether; and the English law which they introduced presented to the Irish its penalties but not its protection. English policy could not bring itself to accept the principle that Irishmen and Englishmen should have equal rights before a Court. As early as the reign of John, there were justices holding assize courts in those towns and districts held directly by the Crown; but there is no ground for believing that an Irishman could bring his plea to them. In the territories granted to the great barons each lord dispensed justice through his own officers; there was no settled and uniform system of law imposed by the Crown. Where Irish rulers still held sway, in the west of Desmond, in Thomond, in parts of Connaught, in Tyrconnell, in Tyrone, the Brehon law still governed society, and its principles and practice appear to have been the same and well recognised in all regions.

In short, the reason why Ireland would not, as England did, settle down under the rule of invaders, is to be found in the character which that rule assumed, and not in any special unwillingness to accept foreign sovereignty, nor in a dislike to the idea of central monarchy. In 1263, after the failure to restore the High Kingship, the Irish nobles sent emissaries to King Hakon of Norway, who was then off the Hebrides with a fleet. They offered to accept him as their High King. Hakon was dissuaded from accepting the offer and from trying to do for the Irish what they could not or would not do for themselves. Fifty years later, as will be seen, they made the same appeal to another quarter and were not refused. But in the latter part of the thirteenth century the movement towards a national resistance, shown in the recognition of Brian O'Neill as High King, ceased to make itself felt. The English power extended itself, and Ireland apparently acquiesced.

CHAPTER XI

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT

In times of personal rule a strong ruler is nearly always better than a weak one, and the strong reign of Edward I. was on the whole beneficent for Ireland. One great object preoccupied him—to bring all Great Britain under a single power and one system of government. Ireland was held for him, and since he could not reinforce those who held it, he left them to grow as powerful as they could. Under this policy there took place a great development in the strength of those Norman houses whose members were in the true sense colonists, identifying themselves with the country of their adoption. Edward I. did not fear great subjects, and under him the Earldom of Ulster became almost a kingdom: the two Geraldine houses were only less than the de Burghs in importance: and the Butlers came up into the same class.

All of these great nobles were bent on superseding the Irish rulers; but they had no plan of extirpation: they were content that the Irish chiefs should bear rule under them, and deliberately as matter of policy they crossed the bloods. De Burghs and Geraldines intermarried again and again with the native race. Naturally, the native lords resented, and resisted their own subjugation; but there is little evidence that this feeling was shared by the people who accepted the new rulers as their own chiefs. Another conquest was silently proceeding, and Ireland was absorbing and assimilating to itself this new element of strength.

When, in 1264 Walter de Burgh became Earl of Ulster, uniting in one hand most of Connaught and a third of Ulster, the FitzGeralds at once resented this tremendous accession of power to their old rivals. A conference was held at Athlone, at which the Lord Justice and Felim O'Conor, King of Connaught, were present, and there was an attempt to secure

peace. But war broke out in spite of the agreement, and the Earl of Ulster took all the castles that FitzGerald possessed in Connaught, burned his manors, and plundered his people. Attempt was made by the native princes to curb this encroaching power. The O'Conors combined with forces from Thomond and inflicted a heavy defeat upon Earl Walter in 1270 at Athanchip, near Carrick-on-Shannon. Next year the Earl died, and his son Richard, the Red Earl, succeeded. For forty years he was the chief man in Ireland. Yet the de Burgh power was continually counterbalanced by that of the Geraldines. Both houses grew at the expense of the native dynasties, but grew through alliances with them. Their intervention decided the fate of Irish kingdoms.

At the time of the Red Earl's accession, Donnell Oge O'Donnell was the strongest of the Irish kings. His country Tyrconnell was always at strife on its borders with Tyrone to the south and east, Connaught to the south and west. It suited the de Burghs to see the Irish weakened in Connaught, and Hugh Boy O'Neill, lord of Tyrone since the death of Brian at the Battle of Down, was their ally. Donnell O'Donnell, probably for this reason, left Tyrone untouched and directed his energies towards Connaught. Hugh O'Conor, who defeated Earl Walter at Athanchip, died in 1274, and another period of disputed sovereignty gave O'Donnell his chance. He pushed south into Connaught, subjugating most of it and all Brefny ; from Brefny he extended his power eastward, south of Tyrone, till he was master of Oriel also. But when in 1281 he invaded Tyrone in force with large contingents from Connaught, Hugh Boy O'Neill, assisted by the " English of Ulster," that is, the Red Earl's people, defeated and slew him. Two years later, when Hugh Boy was trying to win for himself what Donnell O'Donnell had won, the MacMahons of Oriel routed his force and he perished. Thus there was no strong king left in either Ulster or Connaught, and in 1286 the Red Earl " led a great army into Connaught and obtained sway in every place through which he passed, and took the hostages of all Connaught. He then brought the Connacians with him and took the hostages of the Kinel Connell and Kinel Owen." This complete conquest of northern Ireland was more than any Norman ruler had yet achieved.

The true seat of Earl Richard's power was in Ulidia, where

he resided, and he left the west to be controlled by his father's brother, William Liath (the Grey) de Burgh, asserting his own supremacy in the traditional Irish fashion by appearing from time to time at the head of an army and exacting his dues. Yet his grip on Connaught was not complete. In 1289 and again in 1293 he was stopped in a hosting and forced to turn back. Those who opposed the de Burghs could always look for help from the Geraldines.

The Irish kingdom of Thomond became in this period a cockpit for the strife of these contending Norman-Irish powers, or rather of the factions in Thomond which they supported. But a new English power had been established in the country itself. In 1275 Edward I. once more granted the O'Brien's kingdom to an English lord, Richard de Clare. Geraldine influence was behind this : de Clare's wife was a sister of Maurice FitzGerald. The next thing to be done was to raise an expedition with which to make the grant effective. De Clare raised one and got with it as far as Cork. Others to whom Thomond was granted had done the same a hundred years earlier and afterwards. But de Clare found, as probably the Geraldines had told him that he would find, a backing in Thomond itself. Brian Roe O'Brien was driven out of his kingdom in 1276 by a surprise attack in favour of a rival claimant Turlough, who had been with the force that defeated Earl Walter de Burgh in 1270 at Athanchip. But sides are changed rapidly in such conditions, and the de Burghs in Clanricarde were now allied to Turlough.

Brian Roe made his way to Cork, met de Clare, and formed a compact under which de Clare was to have all the land lying along the Shannon from Limerick to the River Fergus, in return for his help to put Brian back in power. The combined forces succeeded, and de Clare immediately set to constructing a strong castle at Bunratty, six miles west of Limerick—the first Norman castle in Clare, and one which figures often in history.

Turlough with his party now appealed to the de Burghs for assistance and got it. De Clare and Brian were defeated in a battle in which Lady de Clare's brother, a Geraldine, lost his life. Brian returned with the beaten army to Bunratty ; and here, it is said, at the instigation of the Geraldines, de Clare, blaming him for the defeat, caused him to be torn in pieces by horses.

This was no hopeful beginning for the de Clares; and though only three years later we find a son of Brian Roe accepting help from the man who thus massacred his father, yet the de Clares were not destined to hold their ground in Thomond, nor the Geraldines to obtain influence in this country which would have linked up Desmond, the southern Geraldine principality, to the even more important lordship of the allied branch which centred about Kildare. They contrived, however, for nearly fifty years to keep Thomond weak by fostering perpetual internecine wars between rival claimants among the O'Briens.

It was a very important moment in the history of the Geraldines when Gerald FitzMaurice, fourth Baron of Offaly, died without issue in 1287. The barony passed by English law to his father's first cousin John, known as FitzThomas. But the huge estates passed mainly to female heirs: the Geraldine dominion was to be broken up by process of English law. FitzThomas insisted that it should be kept together as if it were an independent Irish kingdom, and that all the lands should pass with the title. He succeeded, either by threats or by bargains, in inducing the female heirs, his cousins, to transfer their inheritances to him. This is the first of several important instances in which the Norman Irish lords and their armed retainers insisted upon holding together the family possessions and transferring them from one male ruler to another; a departure from the English usage which shows how separate from England these Irish lords were fast becoming.

The same was to happen in the de Burgh line: but at this point the Red Earl was chiefly concerned to check the Geraldine power, and he fiercely opposed the transfer of the lands. His claim to do so lay in the fact that he now represented the de Lacys, who were overlords of the Geraldines, because much of the Geraldine land had been granted to them by earlier de Lacys. War arose out of the quarrel, and in 1294 FitzThomas captured the Red Earl and attacked Connaught. "Yet though the Geraldines desolated the province they acquired no power over it," the Annals say. The de Burgh hold was too strong; and Edward I. retained enough authority in Ireland to order the Red Earl's release. He wanted peace among his subjects in Ireland, for he needed their help elsewhere, and in 1297 both the Red Earl and Fitz-

Thomas were in Scotland with his army. Again in 1302 and 1303 the Norman-Irish nobles accompanied Edward in his northern war. No movement of revolt appeared in Ireland despite the withdrawal of both leaders and forces, and the Irish annals show less record of local wars for these years. The rule which then existed in Ireland was apparently neither weak nor disliked, and the movement towards a national resistance shown when Brian O'Neill was recognised as High King had apparently ceased to be felt.

It should be noted also that in the thirteenth century many Irish students began to resort to Oxford—a beginning of new ties which reasonable policy should have fostered, but which after a period was checked.

Perhaps, however, the wisest thing which Edward I. did was to select a capable man, Sir John Wogan, as Justiciar, and leave him in power. He was appointed in 1295, at the moment when FitzThomas had the Red Earl a prisoner, and he remained in office seventeen years.

The first Irish parliament was held in 1297 under Wogan's administration. Brought into being by direct act of the Crown, and not through an Act of the English Parliament, it had the same status as that of England : it was not subordinate to, but co-ordinate with, the Parliament at Westminster. It was, however, a parliament of the English only—that is, of those who represented English law ; though certainly the great Anglo-Irish lords must by this time have been using Brehon law in dealing with their Irish subjects. An exception should be made in regard to the bishops, all of whom were summoned to sit as lords spiritual ; and the bishops of sees in the unconquered districts were still native Irishmen. All barons were summoned individually ; and the sheriff of each county or seneschal of each liberty was ordered to cause two knights to be elected from his district. In the next parliament, that of 1300, cities and boroughs were also represented.

The organisation of Ireland into counties had been begun by King John, and had proceeded gradually. Kildare, which had been a " liberty," had only recently been made a county. But the area of Ireland which was shire-ground under county administration, and visited by justices holding courts for the Crown, was not above a half. In the liberties everything was done in the name of the lord of the liberty ; the seneschal

was his chief officer. Strongbow's fief had been broken into three liberties, Wexford, Carlow, and Kilkenny, of which the last had passed by purchase to the Butlers. In Meath a branch of de Lacys still ruled. Roscommon was a separate county with a royal castle in it ; the rest of Connaught ranked as one unit, Ulster as another : and throughout this area, wherever English law ran, it was administered in the Earl of Ulster's name ; the courts were his courts. In Desmond the Geraldine lords exercised the same palatine jurisdiction.

The laws enacted by the parliament of 1297 were mainly directed to the preservation of the peace and the restriction of private war. Orders were also issued for the clearing of roads and restoration of bridges. An enactment forbidding Englishmen to dress and wear their hair after the Irish fashion shows how strongly already assimilation had set in —and how completely it was opposed to English policy, even under so wise a ruler as Edward I. But there was also a law passed against the attacking any Irishman who was at peace. This early legislation recognised a state of border war as permanent ; but it sought to establish decent order within the borders.

The reign of Edward I. may be held to mark the completest degree of conquest reached by the English power in its first and purely feudal stage of development. No region in Ireland was wholly free : Thomond was dominated by the de Clares, Tyrone and Tyrconnell by the Earl of Ulster. But the spirit of resistance was still quite unsubdued.

CHAPTER XII

THE INVASION OF THE BRUCES

Upon Edward I.'s death in 1307 his weak and youthful successor inherited on the whole a peaceful Ireland; and it remained at peace till the justiciar Wogan died in 1312. Then things changed radically. Edward II.'s conduct of the Scottish wars came to final disaster at Bannockburn in June 1314. Next year Edward Bruce invaded Ireland with a strong army of the best soldiers in the two islands. It is said that he was invited by the de Lacys. In the absence of a male heir their fief of Meath was to revert temporarily to the power of the Crown, and to be disposed of at the Crown's discretion with the hand of the female heir. They also, like the Geraldines, preferred the Irish custom of tanistry, in which a male successor was at once chosen; and they declared against English law. But the episode is uncertain, as was the attitude of the de Lacys when Bruce landed. The important invitation came to Bruce from the Irish kings themselves; it was sent by Donnell O'Neill, lord of Tyrone, acting as their leader and spokesman.

The grounds for this action were set out in a remarkable document. We now speak of an appeal to the public conscience of Europe: O'Neill addressed a letter to the Pope, as the spiritual head of the Church, before which English and Irish were theoretically equal.

The appeal recognised at once that Pope Adrian had authorised Henry II. to undertake the conquest of Ireland. O'Neill explained this by Adrian's nationality—"English prejudice blinding his vision." But O'Neill's justification for Ireland's revolt was based really on the barbarous character of the English conquest and the injustice of the rule set up.

"By their acts of low false cunning they have so far prevailed against us that after having violently expelled us,

without regard to the authority of any superior power, from our spacious habitations and patrimonial inheritance, they have compelled us to repair in the hope of saving our lives to mountains, swamps, bare places, and to the caves of the rocks . . . asserting that we have no right to any free dwelling place in Ireland, but that the whole country belongs of right entirely to themselves alone.

" For want of a fit ruling authority, we look in vain for the correction and redress of these evils."

Thus the argument pursued is not that the Pope had no right to authorise the conquest, but rather that the English conquerors had not fulfilled the conditions of the Papal Bull. They had destroyed where they were sent to civilise. They had curtailed and plundered the Church. " Our bishops are indiscriminately arrested, yet are so slavishly timid that they never venture to complain to Your Holiness." As to the people, " they have deprived them of the written laws according to which they have been governed for the most part in the past, and have introduced infamous new laws." Then follow detailed grounds of complaint :

1. Every Irishman may be summoned at law, but no Irishman except a bishop may summon another person before an English court.

2. No penalty is enforced for killing an Irishman ; rather, the slayer is rewarded if the slain is noble.

3. An Irishwoman who marries an Englishman, if she survives him, loses one-third of what she would have inherited if she were not Irish.

4. No Irishman's will is allowed to stand good at English law.

5. The religious communities who dwell " in the land of peace among the English " are prohibited from receiving any but Englishmen among them.

6. Many perfidious murders have been committed on guests. It is generally asserted that to kill an Irishman is no more than to kill a dog—and even monks have been known to say this and make it good in arms. The whole English population in Ireland, acting on these principles, regard it as allowable to take anything they can from any Irishman.

After what has been thus summarised comes a notable passage :

" It is these people who by their deceitful scheming have

alienated us from the monarchs of England, hindering us, to the great detriment of the king and the realm, from holding our lands, which are our own by every rightful title, as voluntary tenants immediately under these princes, between whom and us they are sowing everlasting discords (especially between brothers and kinsmen) to get possession of our lands."

O'Neill complains that a letter had been addressed to the king in council praying that the Irish princes should hold their land directly of him "according to the Bull of Adrian," or that he should himself divide the land "according to some reasonable method" between them and the English invaders. No answer had been returned. "We must therefore defend what the king has totally failed to secure to us." As the best means of defence he told the Pope that they had "resigned their right" to Edward Bruce—accepting him as their overlord.

The Pope forwarded this letter to Edward II., saying that if the allegations were true (and he said it in such a way as to imply that he had no doubt) the king should enforce a just and speedy correction of all the grievances: "thus removing all grounds of just complaint, that so the Irish people may render you the obedience due to their lord, or, if they be disposed to persist in foolish rebellion, they may convert their cause to a matter of open injustice, while you stand excused before God and man."

Apparently, then, the Irish did not regard the conquest as necessarily iniquitous or intolerable; but they insisted that a conqueror was bound to recognise rights in the conquered. It is at all events clear that European opinion as represented by the Pope regarded the King of England as rightfully in possession of Ireland, but was ready to admit that the Irish princes and people might have just cause to rebel. If their grievances were removed, England's title to over-rule held good.

As it was natural that the Irish princes should address their remonstrances to the Pope, so it was natural that they should look to Bruce for assistance. He, as lord of a weaker kingdom, had inflicted crushing defeat on the power of England: revenge would certainly be attempted, and his interest would prompt him to weaken England when and where he could. Moreover, to the Irish he was no stranger: he spoke a Gaelic

nearer to theirs than his English was to that of London ; he traced his descent to Fergus MacErc, and through Fergus to Niall of the Nine Hostages and beyond.

More than this, throughout the thirteenth century Scotland had been supplying soldiery for Irish wars. As early as 1213 the Earl of Athol and the chief of the MacDonnells came to the north of Ireland, and after plundering Derry they joined with the English of Ulidia to erect the castle of Coleraine. But the introduction of Scottish troops on a large scale was developed by the Irish. In 1247 a MacSorley fell fighting for O'Donnell against Maurice FitzGerald at the Erne. In 1259, after the meeting of Caeluisce, when the league under Brian O'Neill was planned, Hugh O'Conor of Connaught married a MacDonnell and brought home with her a band of eight-score fighting men. These were the first of the *Gall-Oglaigh* or foreign soldiers, who were known to the English as Gallo-glasses. Maintenance of them became a regular institution. Up till this the Irish had no standing armies, and these body-guards formed the nucleus of a permanent force.

Thus the Scots, especially in Ulster, were scarcely more alien than the men of one Irish province to another. Yet when Bruce landed at Larne, Ireland was in no way ready to rise in his support. Donnell O'Neill, indeed, joined him at once : but Felim O'Conor, King of Connaught, marched with his army to join the Red Earl, who was preparing resistance. Meanwhile the Scots with O'Neill pushed through County Antrim to Lough Neagh, and thence moved for the Gap of the North or Moiry Pass, leading through the mountains to Dundalk. Here they were opposed by two lesser Irish chiefs who stood by the Earl of Ulster. Bruce forced his way through, destroyed Dundalk and ravaged the country to Ardee, where he burnt a church full of huddling refugees. Between Ardee and the Boyne, the Red Earl and Felim had joined forces with the king's army under Sir Edmund Butler, who was Justiciar. Bruce, by O'Neill's advice, decided to retreat northwards into the friendly county of Tyrone ; and the Red Earl, seeing what he took for a sign of weakness in the enemy, told the Justiciar that he needed no help in his own territory. But he failed to bring Bruce to battle, and the rival armies moved by different routes to Coleraine, where they looked at each other across the Bann. Meanwhile, Bruce conveyed messages to Felim O'Conor, offering him the whole

kingdom of Connaught if he would abandon the Earl. At the same time Felim's rival, Rory O'Conor, came to Bruce asking for support. Bruce promised it on condition that Felim should be unmolested. Rory O'Conor went back to the west and caused himself to be inaugurated king. At news of this Felim made for his own country; but he was opposed on the way, and gave up the struggle for the moment. Thus the Red Earl's forces were weakened, and Connaught had broken away from him. Bruce, having contrived to cross the Bann, followed the Earl, now in retreat before him, and at Connor, in County Down, defeated him completely. Sir William Liath de Burgh, the Earl's representative in Connaught, was made prisoner. All eastern Ulster was now at Bruce's mercy, except Carrickfergus, where the garrison held out.

In November the invaders marched through Dundalk into Meath, and at Kells scattered an English army under Roger de Mortimer. Then, having ravaged westward as far as Granard on the Shannon, Bruce pushed into Leinster, plundering and destroying. In January 1316, Butler the Justiciar, with John FitzThomas the Geraldine lord of Offaly, and Power, lord of Kilkenny, opposed him at Ardscull, near Athy; but their force broke up in disorder. In February Bruce led his troops back to Ulster, and in the following May was crowned King of Ireland at Dundalk.

By this time there were risings in all quarters. O'Byrnes and O'Tooles descended east and west from the Wicklow hills, O'Mores devastated the English settlements about Leix. The Red Earl, driven out of Ulster, fell back on Connaught; but he was "without sway and power in Ireland this year." Meantime, in Connaught, O'Conors were fighting one another until the dispossessed Felim, with support of the English from County Galway, chief among whom was de Bermingham of Athenry, defeated and slew Rory. Felim then turned against his English allies, and attempted to make himself sole master of the province and shake off English rule. But William the Grey de Burgh had secured release from captivity, and now joined de Bermingham to oppose Felim and the league which he was forming. At Athenry, on 10th August 1316, settlers and natives of Connaught confronted each other, and the settlers won: the O'Conor ruling stock was almost wiped out.

It is remarkable that neither Bruce nor his ally O'Neill should have been able to push across to support this strong movement of the west. Probably the explanation lies in the attitude of Tyrconnell and its king, always a check on O'Neill ; O'Donnell took no part in this war, except that while the O'Conors were busy, he raided into northern Connaught and destroyed Sligo.

In the close of 1316 Robert Bruce in person joined his army, and in February 1317 the two brothers moved south into Meath and threatened Dublin. In the panic the citizens of Dublin threw the Earl of Ulster into prison. The fact that his daughter was wife to Robert Bruce is sufficient to account for their action : he had failed completely against Bruce ; men suspect treachery in every failure when the enemy is at their gates.

The Scots came as far as Castleknock, and the citizens fired the suburbs to prevent a lodgment of the attackers in them, and Bruce withdrew. At this period the reduction of any walled town was extremely difficult ; masonry was fully developed, artillery very primitive. Carrickfergus had held out for a year, and only fell by starvation : it was the one siege that the Bruces attempted. But the whole country lay open to them, and they plundered it to Kilkenny, thence to Cashel and to Nenagh. Limerick and Thomond tempted them, but Murtough O'Brien stood by the English and they got no further than Castle Connell. Here news reached them that the English Government had reinforced its supporters ; a strong army under Roger Mortimer had landed at Youghal. Robert Bruce retreated to his own kingdom. Under him, as under his brother, the Scots had gained the name of the worst pillagers that Ireland had known. Their depredations were no doubt greatly caused by a fact which made the plundering all the more cruel : 1316 and 1317 were years almost of famine in Ireland. In 1318 the season came favourable, and the coincidence of this with the withdrawal of Robert Bruce may have helped to turn sentiment to the English side. Undoubtedly the Scottish invaders had come to be regarded as a scourge, and the end was welcome to Ireland when it came. In October 1318 Edward Bruce was once more advancing south along with considerable Irish forces but no chief of note or name. At Faughart, on the road between the Moiry Pass and Dundalk, John de Bermingham at the

head of an English army, met him. Bruce decided not to wait for reinforcements which were on their way from Carrickfergus, and gave battle—unsuccessfully at last. He was slain on the field. If the Annalists are right, a cry of relief went up from the whole country. "No achievement had been performed in Ireland for a long time before from which greater benefit accrued to the country, for during the three and a half years that this Edward spent in it, a universal famine prevailed to such a degree that men were wont to devour one another."

CHAPTER XIII

THE PALE AND THE POLICY OF EXCLUSION

BRUCE's invasion brought into light two things: the impotence of Gaelic Ireland to drive out the Norman-English settlers, and the impotence of the central English Government to hold and administer Ireland beyond a comparatively small strip on the east coast. In the thirteenth century there were no defined limits to English rule. In the fourteenth it came to be recognised that there was an English district called the Pale, administered from Dublin according to English law. Outside this was a larger area in which England maintained its hold through certain nobles, who ruled their territories at their own discretion. The English Government maintained a control over these semi-independent rulers: it could and did punish them by process of law. They were its subjects; but all in their territory were subject to them. They were the law, and were held responsible for what happened in the country under their jurisdiction.

The Pale, or district directly governed, kept on narrowing; and even in it the Government had very limited authority. As early as 1310 a decree was passed that the heads of great houses should undertake the duty of punishing men of their own family or name. This was re-enacted in 1329, and it meant that the central Government abandoned the attempt to administer law in its own right through its own machinery. The decree was in fact modelled on Irish custom, and it contained the idea of recognising an individual English subject as "captain of his nation," to use a phrase much employed later. The chief of the Powers or Roches, for instance, was viewed much in the same way as the chief of the O'Sullivans or O'Donovans under Irish custom. Just as the O'Sullivan would be answerable to his overking, the ruling

MacCarthy, so the chief of the Powers would be answerable to the head of the Butlers.

Practically all of Ireland in which there was English settlement outside the Pale came in the fourteenth century to be comprised in one of three great earldoms—Desmond, Ormonde, and Kildare. Beyond this outer area were wide territories in which no English authority held sway. As far as English influence prevailed in them, it was through alliances made between the great earls and Irish kings who were in no legal sense subject to them, and whom the English Government regarded not only as aliens but as enemies.

Up to the time of Bruce's invasion, the conquest of Ireland was steadily spreading. For a hundred years after that date its limits began to recede. Two causes curtailed it: first, reconquest by the Irish themselves; secondly, the going over of Norman conquerors with their conquests to the Irish side.

One terrible source of confusion and misery was the piebald distribution of rule resulting from these processes. Patches of native rule developed in the Pale, while the earldoms had offshoots of their power running out into purely Irish country in Connaught and in Munster.

Except that of Ulster, which, as we shall see, soon disappeared, the earldoms were created after Bruce's invasion; as if in recognition of the increased power which it was necessary to delegate. In 1316 John FitzThomas, Baron of Offaly, was created Earl of Kildare, and Sir Edmund Butler Earl of Carrick. The Butler title was changed to Earl of Ormonde in 1329; at the same time the head of the southern Geraldines became Earl of Desmond. De Bermingham, vanquisher of Edward Bruce, was rewarded with the Earldom of Louth, but disaster overtook him and his family never rose to great power.

The first Irish territory from which the English settlers were expelled was Thomond. The de Clares had continued to act even during the Bruce invasion with a single purpose of maintaining civil strife in the region where they were settled. When Bruce landed, Murtough O'Brien, then king, took the side of the English, while his rival, Donough, joined the other party and fought along with Felim O'Conor at Athenry. De Clare none the less endeavoured to oust the existing ruler, and Murtough appealed to Dublin. The

English Government recognised him as king. But during Murtough's absence in Dublin, Donough, with the help of de Clare, took the field, and a great battle was fought at which, after much mutual slaughter, Donough fell. His claims passed to his brother Brian Bawn, who renewed the league with de Clare and again assailed Thomond. A battle took place at Dysart O'Dea in which Richard de Clare, with his son and four other knights, fell. It was one of the few instances in which a purely Irish force defeated one of Irish strongly supported by English forces ; and the victory was decisive. When news of it reached Bunratty, Lady de Clare fired the castle and fled. Ireland was done with the de Clares, and the O'Brien power was solidly established in Thomond.

A vastly more important change followed in Ulster and Connaught, where the de Burghs held sway. In 1326 the Red Earl died after forty years of power. Annalists call him " the choicest of the English of Ireland." He was succeeded by his grandson William, the Brown Earl, a young man who had been brought up in England. The Connaught territory appears to have been controlled by Walter de Burgh, son of William the Grey, and his brother Edmund, surnamed Albanach. These were men of an older generation who had spent their lives in Connaught, and Walter appears to have taken his own line without regard to the Earl, who finally ordered him to be imprisoned. He was starved to death in one of the Earl's castles in Inishowen ; so far north had the de Burgh power spread. In 1333 the Brown Earl was murdered at Belfast by men who were employed to revenge Walter de Burgh's death.

This deed had far-reaching consequences. The Earl left one child, a daughter, by his wife, the Countess Matilda of Lancaster. To this infant, or rather to the husband whom the Crown would choose for her, the whole inheritance in Ulster and Connaught would pass. The chiefs of the de Burgh name in the west were not prepared to accept this submission to a stranger's rule, and they definitely threw off allegiance. To make this plain, they appeared before the castle of Athlone, and in sight of the garrison ceremonially discarded their English dress and put on the Irish garb. Henceforward they who had been known as de Burghs, or in Irish Burke, were now MacWilliam. Edmund Albanach took Lower Connaught

and was known as MacWilliam Iochtar (Lower); from him descend the Earls of Mayo. His brother Ulick took the Galway territory as MacWilliam Uachtar; he was ancestor of the Earls of Clanricarde. Connaught for two hundred years was nearly as much outside English law as Thomond.

Meantime, the withdrawal of the de Burgh power left English-settled Ulster without a leader; and a branch of the O'Neills pushed into this country. They were the descendants of Hugh Boy O'Neill, and the region which they occupied in the north of Down and the south of Antrim came to be called Clann Aedh Buidhe—Clandeboye. Attempts were made to reconquer it; first by Ralph d'Ufford, who had married the Brown Earl's widow and was sent to Ireland as Justiciar; and again, in 1361, by Lionel, Duke of Clarence, the king's son. He had married the Brown Earl's daughter and had been given the title Earl of Ulster; but though he came to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant, bringing his wife with him, heiress of the de Burghs, he failed completely to regain authority in her inheritance. When, in 1367, he summoned the famous Parliament of Kilkenny, there was no mention of Ulster in the representation: the northern province had gone back entirely to the Irish. Carrickfergus was still garrisoned; a few settlers held on. But the Bissets in Antrim, though Norman Welsh, now called themselves MacKeown, and were as Irish as the Burkes; in the south of County Down the Ards district was largely held by the Savages, an English family who had, however, adopted the clan system.

Of the three earldoms which controlled most of Leinster and Munster, that of Kildare was the least independent because it was nearest to Dublin, and for the same reason had most weight in the government of the country. The Earls of Ormonde were of the three the most constant in their allegiance to the Crown, perhaps from necessity; lying between the two Geraldine principalities, they felt the need of all the support they could get. The Earl of Desmond, most remote of the three, had the most independence and was least trusted by the Government. In 1331 Desmond was arrested by the Justiciar and detained for more than a year in Dublin Castle. Attempts were made to shake his title to the lands he held. None of these magnates had any very clear title in law, and in 1341 Edward III. tried to raise money by a proposal to resume all previous grants and issue fresh and clear titles for a

payment. Desmond headed resistance : he called a counter-parliament in Kilkenny and refused to attend the one to which he was summoned by the Crown.

Nevertheless, even the Earls of Desmond remained a part of the English system ; they were connected with the Court and affected by the rise or fall of competing parties in it. Though growing more and more Irish, they did not, like the Burkes, cut themselves off from the connection with England. But their history, and that of the Earls of Ormonde and Kildare, is henceforward part of the history of Ireland. They were a connecting link between the Pale and those whom the Pale and its Government officially regarded as Irish enemies—though never wholly surrendering its claim to regard the territory which these " enemies " occupied as belonging to the English Crown. The area covered by these earldoms was more extensive and more important than that in purely English occupation ; and though we have little detailed knowledge about it, some general ideas may be formed about Ireland in the fourteenth century.

The three great earls and the lesser barons controlled territories which were in the main inhabited and laboured by native Irishmen. In their dealings with these they had to follow some system of law, and from this period onwards they adopted increasingly the Brehon code. In their dealings with other Englishmen, or men of English blood, English law might be applied. But all inhabitants of Ireland outside the towns were necessarily in contact with the Irish law and customs, and there is ample evidence that even the English often preferred to use the Brehon code in dealings between themselves.

But the overlapping of these two systems gave much opening for legal chicane, and the Irish found it of advantage to encourage students to resort to Oxford and return equipped with full knowledge of English law. This helped to spread university culture. An attempt was made in 1320 by the Archbishop of Dublin to establish a university in Dublin. " For lack of funds to maintain the students the university never flourished," says Mr Orpen. There were probably stronger reasons. No student could have been accepted in Dublin who did not explicitly forswear Irish nationality.

For, during the fifty years which followed Bruce's invasion, legislation made it clear that the English Government re-

garded Ireland not as one kingdom but as a country inhabited by two permanently hostile powers. Henry II. had claimed to be king of all Ireland. The statute of Kilkenny, passed in 1367, which enacts in the fullest form all the measures taken to prevent fusion and intercourse between the two peoples, formally recognises an English Pale with a hostile people outside it. Its decrees had for their object to set up a hard-and-fast line between the two peoples. One may condemn this legislation, but it is necessary to understand it. The policy is not one of exterminating conquest, but of fear; these are the laws of a weak Government afraid of being swamped. Recognition of Irish law was forbidden, use of the Irish language was prohibited, intermarriage with the Irish was made an act of treason. But these legislators had seen two provinces lost to English rule by the action of William the Grey de Burgh's sons, whose mother was a daughter of the King of Thomond. They had been brought up in the Irish fashion, and they finally had broken with England because they preferred Irish law. If Geraldines and Butlers should do what the de Burghs had done, what would be left of English power in Ireland?

Further, it is the less necessary to dwell on the statute of Kilkenny and the legislation of which it is the chief example, because they were never observed. The use of the Irish language spread in spite of all prohibitions. The great lords themselves who passed these measures disregarded them in their own daily lives. Fosterage was forbidden, which in Ireland created a tie that held more strongly than the link of blood, and did much to draw the peoples together. Yet we shall find an Earl of Desmond and an Earl of Kildare sending their sons to be fostered with Irish families, as a measure of state policy. Men who wanted to live in the country found it wise in many respects to conform to Irish usage, and it was more powerful than British law. But essentially Ireland and the Irish way of life had from the first that attraction which they have never lost.

Ireland too in those days had much to offer. England was then a country without a literature of its own. Ireland had its old traditional literature, its institution of poets and of harpers. The harpers, naturally, were the first to win recognition from the newcomers, since music knows no language barrier. Giraldus praises their skill with enthusiasm;

and one may be sure that the Norman nobles competed with the Irish to attach these minstrels to their service. In 1328 Bermingham, the vanquisher of Edward Bruce, "most vigorous, puissant, and hospitable of the English of Ireland," was basely murdered by the Anglo-Irish of Louth, over whom he had been set as earl to reward his exploit. In that killing there perished "the Blind O'Carroll, chief minstrel of Ireland and Scotland in his time"—then staying at Bermingham's house.

The poets also found a welcome from an early period. The Annals tell how in 1213 the steward of Donnell More O'Donnell went to collect O'Donnell's tribute in Connaught. He visited the home of Murray O'Daly of Lissadill; and "being a plebeian representative of a hero, he began to wrangle with the poet very much," whereupon O'Daly struck him with an axe and killed him; then, to avoid O'Donnell, fled to Richard de Burgh in Clanricarde. He came with a poem which told how he was wont to frequent the courts of the English and drink wine from the hands of kings and knights, of bishops and abbots; and he said, he came to one well able to protect him from O'Donnell, and his fury over a trifle. "A herdsman to be abusing me, I to kill the lout: God, is that a reason for enmity?" De Burgh took the poet in; but O'Donnell followed him there, and to Thomond when he fled to it, and then to Dublin, till he compelled O'Daly to be banished to Scotland. But the poet won forgiveness and return by eloquent panegyrics and pleas for forgiveness. The story is characteristic of the time. The best proof, however, of the popularity which Irish poets and minstrels secured is found in one clause in the statute of 1349. It was mainly directed against the border clans of O'Tooles and O'Byrnes, who, living in the Dublin mountains, were to the Dublin citizens what the O'Flaherties were to Galway, whose citizens carved on their gates: "From the ferocious O'Flaherties, good Lord, deliver us." This law forbade absolutely the entrance into the Pale of "pipers, story-tellers, babblers, rimers, or any other Irish agent." The continual resort of these popular entertainers was used as a means of getting information for Irish raids. Throughout Irish history, the poets and minstrels were naturally, as in Wales, the main encouragers of resistance to conquest, the chief supporters of every local and racial pride. But when the

English became Irish, as did the de Burghs, or even Anglo-Irish like the Butlers and Geraldines, the poets identified themselves readily with the glories and traditions of these houses.

It is noticeable that, from the Bruce invasion onward, mention of poets and learned men is more frequent in the Annals. As the Irish power strengthened, the old culture reasserted itself. Thus there is noted in 1323 the death of O'Duigenan, "chief historian of Conmaicne," that is, County Longford—a small territory, but it kept its own traditional historian. In 1328 died O'Gibellan, "chief Professor of the New Law, the Old Law, and the Canon, a truly profound philosopher, a learned poet, and a canon chorister of Tuam, the official and general Brehon of the Archbishopric." He was, that is, a man of letters, skilled to advise alike on civil law and ecclesiastical, Brehon law and English law. In 1343 Rory Magrath, "ollave of Leath Mogha" (southern Ireland) in poetry, is named; he was the poet and historian to the O'Briens. In 1362 is noted the death of MacEgan, "a learned Brehon"; the MacEgans kept a school for the training of historians and annalists in Tipperary. In the same year died Auliffe and John MacFirbis, "intended ollaves" of Tireragh. These were men in training for the profession of historian, which was hereditary in their family. The last of their line, Duald MacFirbis, was working in Cromwellian days, and compiled from records kept in his own family much that is of immense value to students to-day.

In short, the whole traditional organisation of learning began to re-establish according as the Gaelic order returned. Over and above these arts, the craft of building was a link between Norman and Gael. Norman barons and Irish chieftains were erecting churches and monasteries all over the country. Cathal Crovderg built the Abbey Knockmoy, near Tuam; William de Burgh, his opponent, built Athassel, in Tipperary. At Ennis, Turlough O'Brien erected a beautiful monastery in 1306; and in 1351 was built Ross Errilly, near Headford, for the Franciscans—places not less beautiful or finely planned than those in English-settled regions; and wherever such monasteries grew up, they were schools alike for Irish and Norman.

Life in the towns was mainly English, but it may be doubted whether town was any more distinct from country

in Ireland than in Scotland of the same period. The town had to trade with the country or starve ; and its walls were of service to protect the citizens against raiding barons of the Norman-English or raiding chiefs of the Irish. Galway, it is evident, feared the Burkes almost as it feared the O'Flaherties. Broadly speaking, the distinction between English-settled Ireland and the Ireland that was still Gaelic was the same as between Highland and Lowland in Scotland down to the eighteenth century. There was difference of tongues, difference of civilisation ; great lords were perhaps the main links between both, belonging to the English-speaking rather than the Gaelic-speaking world, yet with a strong attachment to the wilder and more primitive way of life. In Connaught and in Munster, de Burgh and Geraldine ceased almost to be townsmen and approached more nearly to the state of an Irish king, whether of Thomond or Tyrconnell. It may be assumed too that the O'Neill or O'Donnell or O'Brien did not willingly allow his house to be less fine than that of Mac-William or FitzMaurice, with whom he was probably connected either by fosterage or intermarriage.

Wars and private wars were still deplorably common. But neither England of the fourteenth century, nor any land of Europe, was the home of settled peace.

There was, however, fixed in the English State the principle of a strong central monarchy. This principle was in effect repudiated in Ireland ; and the Irish appear to have acquiesced in the continued presence of a hostile power in their country, holding their chief ports, though they were not willing to come under that power on any terms that were open to them. They never had the choice or chance of being subjects of the English Crown, possessing equal rights with the citizens of England. Men of English blood could naturalise themselves in Ireland ; in spite of law, the races fused and blended. But the system of government in so far as it was administered from England remained alien and hostile : it refused to assimilate itself, or become in any degree the government of Irishmen according to Irish ideas.

CHAPTER XIV

GROWTH OF THE ANGLO-IRISH INTEREST

From the first quarter of the fourteenth century to the last quarter of the fifteenth, Irish history is very obscure and little known. Documents exist for writing a history of the Pale, and that history has to some extent been written. But the Pale was of comparatively small extent and importance, and the history of Ireland for this period should be the history of Ireland outside the Pale. For that the Irish Annals give us very little but the record of wars, deaths, and occasionally of important buildings.

For the purely Irish Ireland, and for the English settlement properly so called, this was a period of arrested political development. The power of the Irish was gaining ground continually as compared with that of the English Government; but rather through the English Government's weakness than through its own strength. What really grew in this period was the power of the great earls—a power neither wholly English nor Irish, but a connecting link. In it was the germ of that composite growth which we know as the Irish nation. Before going into any detail it is well to try and estimate these three factors.

Before the reign of Edward II. and the Bruce invasion, whatever princes of the Irish remained independent or partially independent, even in Ulster, were compelled to live in remote fastnesses, continually under the menace of complete subjugation. By 1367, as the statute of Kilkenny shows, England had avowedly relinquished the claim to control anything but the narrowed settlement which was officially shireland, under English organisation and rule; and even this was reduced to pay blackrent to the border peoples as a price of peace. In the fifteenth century the limits of the Pale shrank to a mere belt along the sea-coast from Dalkey to

Dundalk. But Dundalk was many times raided by the Irish ; and the northern limit of security on the coast did not go beyond Drogheda. Inland, probably no settler's cattle were safe beyond the old Pale ditch, of which a remnant can be seen in the grounds of Clongowes Wood College, not twenty miles from Dublin. Towards the Dublin mountains this frontier was only a short walk distant ; the dyke ran through Tallaght and so past the foothills, and it can have afforded no real security. It might have served against a force raiding on horseback ; but the O'Toole and O'Byrne mountaineers had probably little use for horses, and on foot were unlikely to be checked by any dyke.

It is often said that the Pale finally comprised only half of four counties, Dublin, Kildare, Meath, and Louth. But Wicklow was then included in Dublin, Leix and Offaly in Kildare, Westmeath in Meath, and Monaghan in Louth. Each shire was for administrative purposes divided into the English " maghery " or lowland, outside which lay the " march " or border district in which the sheriff had only a nominal authority. Neither the present county of Dublin, Meath, Kildare, or Louth was secure from border raids.

Within the Pale the lords and gentry and their English tenants lived under English law. English speech had by the fourteenth century replaced the Norman-French, of which, however, some traces survive : " gossoon " is " garçon." But the legislation prohibiting the use of Irish indicates that Irish was increasingly used among them. They protected themselves and their property as best they could, with assistance from the tiny force kept at the disposal of the Justiciar, or Lord-Deputy, as the king's representative in Ireland now began to be called. Even this force was habitually ill-paid and provisioned. The English settlement suffered from the fact that during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries England was either weakened by a disputed sovereignty or, when under a strong king like Henry V., was occupied with trying to conquer France. Within the limited territory which it claimed to control in Ireland, " the English executive neither fulfilled the duty of an executive nor permitted any other to be established," says Professor Richey. The townsfolk of Drogheda and Dublin were ready and able to furnish out contingents for resistance or attack against the border Irish. They stood consistently in support of the English, but they expected the

English power to maintain their defences, and it did not maintain them; their walls gradually fell into decay. The outlying colonists, especially in Louth, where the threat was sharpest, were obliged to make treaties on their own account with the neighbouring chiefs, such as O'Hanlon in South Armagh, or Magennis in South Down.

Broadly speaking, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the English sovereigns either could not or would not keep their colony reinforced, though from time to time, to prevent their hold from slipping altogether, they asserted their power by a formidable expedition. The English Pale was a community always weakly on the defensive, defending itself rather by bribes than blows. The reason why it was neither completely swamped or swept away is to be found in the power of the three great earldoms of Kildare, Desmond, and Ormonde, any one of which was at any time in this period at least the equal of the strongest Irish kingdom. These were the screen which prevented the English power from being driven completely out of Ireland. They were part of the English interest. They were affected by the play of English factions; and the Wars of the Roses, though they did not injure Ireland as they injured England, still affected Ireland disastrously through these great houses, bringing penalties upon men of the greatest power in Ireland for causes which did not concern Ireland directly.

The policy of these Anglo-Irish earls was directed to the aggrandisement of their own houses, rather than to that of English power. They regarded themselves always as representatives of the English power; but they were part of Ireland, they were Irish rulers, and their policy was to live with the native rulers, great and small. On the whole, in an age of constant war, their rule made for peace. Their many alliances with the native princes were genuine alliances, and not, as in the thirteenth century, pretexts for conquest and annexation.

The thirteenth century had left all the Irish principalities shattered. In the fourteenth century they began to be built up again, slowly and painfully, and in a somewhat new grouping. The Pale was surrounded by a ring of small chiefdoms which attained an importance that they had never possessed in pre-Norman days. To the north, the branch of the O'Neills, which after the break-up of the de Burgh earldom had

established itself in Clandeboye, was not only a menace to the English but sometimes a formidable rival to the main house of O'Neill in Tyrone. In Connaught the MacWilliam Burkes were dominant, and held the position which had once belonged to the O'Conors ; though they rivalled the O'Conors by their internecine strife. But the O'Conors, like the O'Neills, had thrown out a strong offshoot eastward, and the O'Conor Faly, as the lord of Irish Offaly was called, was perpetually and successfully at war with the English of Meath and Kildare. In Leix the O'Mores had become a separate and independent power. Finally, while the English were distracted by all their separate enemies, often leagued against them in small local combinations, the old kingdom in which Norman power first took root reasserted itself as Irish. For a century and a half from the time of Strongbow's accession after the death of Dermot MacMurrough, there was no Irish King of Leinster ; but in 1328 Donnell MacMurrough was formally chosen and proclaimed king of the province.

Yet this kingdom, though it produced the most formidable opponent which the English met in the period under review, had an undefined and shadowy existence. The stronghold of purely Gaelic power still lay in the old sovereignty of the Northern Hy Neill, Tyrconnell and Tyrone. But the incessant strife between O'Neills and O'Donnells, and the frequent internal wars between rival claimants in each of these territories, prevented either of these powers from seriously threatening the real defenders of English sovereignty. The earls too had their wars with one another, but at long intervals ; and earl succeeded to earl in these lordships with little friction.

It was the usage of English statesmen and writers to speak of those English and Anglo-Normans who adopted Irish usages as " degenerate." The term has to be applied to each Kildare, and to each Desmond, if to any ; and the Ormondes would hardly escape it. All those houses intermarried, as matter of policy, both with O'Donnells and O'Neills, and also with the strongest native power of Munster, the O'Briens. More significant still, they sent their sons to be fostered—that is, brought up—in the princely Irish houses. A notable instance united Thomond and Desmond.

In 1369 Brian O'Brien forced himself into the lordship of Thomond. Garrett, Earl of Desmond, took up the cause of

Turlough, whom Brian had ejected, and marched on Thomond in 1369. Brian met him at Monasternenagh on the Maigue, defeated his army, captured the Earl and held him to ransom. From this exploit he is called Brian of the Battle of Aonach. He took Limerick and put in a Macnamara to be warden of the town for him ; but Macnamara was slain by the English, and this last attempt to bring Limerick under O'Brien rule failed. Brian, however, strengthened himself by alliance with the MacWilliam Burkes of Clanricarde, and they helped him to levy blackrent from the English of Munster. His daughter was married to Ulick Burke, who in 1401 became the MacWilliam.

It is evident that Earl Garrett of Desmond, many years after his defeat, decided to make friends where he failed to subdue ; in 1388 he got a licence from the king that, " for the better preserving of the peace and his liege subjects in Munster," he should send his son James to " Conor O'Brien of Thomond, an Irishman, to be brought up and educated, and there to remain as long as he should think fit, notwithstanding any statutes made to the contrary." This Conor O'Brien was brother and tanist to Brian who had captured the Earl Garrett twenty years before. The effect of education in Irish ideas was seen when Earl Garrett's successor, Earl John, was drowned. By English law the earldom passed to Earl John's son, then a boy. But James, son of Garrett, and Conor O'Brien's foster son, was now the chief man of the Geraldines, and he refused to allow the succession of a minor. The boy earl was expelled, and it proves the growing separation of all Desmonds from English law that James was fully recognised as earl. Not only this, but Earl James was permitted to make a great extension of power by purchasing the old grants of the kingdom of Cork from representatives of de Cogan and Fitz-Stephen : he was appointed Governor of the counties of Cork Kerry, Limerick, and Waterford ; and special licence was given that he should absent himself from any parliament held in the Pale, on the ground that his presence was needed in his own territory, and also that he might be obliged to traverse hostile counties to reach the Pale. The King of England could hardly have gone nearer to creating an independent sovereignty in this outlying region.

Under such an overlordship in Munster it is plain that the Irish influence was increased and the English diminished.

The city of Cork complained bitterly that whereas there were previously about it many English gentlemen and noblemen, these had nearly all disappeared. The cause given is that the Roches, Barrys, and the rest weakened themselves by continual private war upon each other, and the Irish steadily encroached. As these lesser lords weakened, Desmond gained in importance, and the earl was increasingly regarded by both English and Irish of Munster as their natural head. All the nobles and gentlemen of Munster tended to become followers of his, leaders of a soldier class which was continually increased by their younger sons, for whom fighting was the only trade possible.

The annalists, being chiefly interested in events in the northern half of Ireland, omit much that happened in the south. Yet, on the whole, in the first half of the fifteenth century Desmond's would seem to have been the most peaceful and prosperous portion of Ireland. The friendship with Thomond, begun by Earl James's fosterage, appears to have lasted, and the O'Briens extended their territory across the Shannon about Castle Connell without hindrance from the Geraldines.

For the O'Briens and for Desmond, the principal danger was the growing power of the Earls of Ormond. Its centre, originally at Carrick-on-Suir, had been shifted to Kilkenny, which was bought by the Butlers in 1391. Ormonde's palatinate, in which he exercised princely jurisdiction, included the whole of Tipperary, but only the east was thoroughly held by him. His power extended over Kilkenny, and there was really in this region a kind of outer pale, much more English in its character than any part of Desmond's territory. Yet the cadets of the Butler house, legitimate and illegitimate, as well as those of the Kildare Geraldines, appear to have lived very much like the members of the ruling family in Tyrone or Tyrconnell ; riding about, accompanied by armed bands, and exacting food and entertainment for themselves and their retainers.

The Ormonde territory was bordered on the west by dangerous Irish neighbours from the Galtees to Slievebloom ; chiefly the O'Briens, but also by the O'Carrolls of Ely in the north of Tipperary. On the east of Ormonde was the reviving Irish power of the Kings of Leinster.

Against this last the English made constant war, and in

1369, and again in 1375, a ruling King of Leinster was slain by them—in the second case, according to the annalists, by treachery ; and the blackrent which had been regularly paid to Leinster for a long period was now stopped. At this point Art MacMurrough Kavanagh was chosen king, a youth of only eighteen, but already distinguished in war. It is notable that he married the daughter of the Earl of Kildare—not ten years after the statute of Kilkenny was passed. But the Government would not overlook this, and seized the lady's estates. Art MacMurrough retorted by pillaging the counties which lay nearest to him, until the blackrent was paid again.

English power was at a very low ebb in these years. In 1385 a levy of the English of Meath under Nugent, Lord Delvin, was heavily worsted in Offaly by O'Conor Faly, with the McGeoghegans and O'Molloys—a combination of petty clans. Meanwhile MacMurrough pursued his career of devastation without a check.

But in Connaught the High and Low Burkes were fighting among themselves as badly as the O'Conors had ever done, and in Ulster O'Neill and O'Donnell were at war, so that no effective attempt to drive out all English was made by the Irish when the chance was greatest ; and in 1394 Richard II. determined to reassert the power of the Crown. He landed at Waterford with an army of 30,000 men—such a host as had not been seen in Ireland. MacMurrough promptly showed his contempt for this display by descending on the town of New Ross, scarcely twenty miles from Waterford, sacking and burning it. Nevertheless, Richard's army produced at least an appearance of general submission, and he made plain his desire to conciliate. The reigning O'Neill, O'Conor, and O'Brien were persuaded to come to his headquarters and tender allegiance. Art MacMurrough, "at the solicitation of the English and Irish of Leinster," did likewise. But the Lord Justice of that day was Ormonde, whose territory in Wexford, Kilkenny, and Carlow had been plundered by Art time and again ; and he caused the Leinster king to be imprisoned. Art was released, but the experience was not conciliatory.

When Richard departed from Ireland, he left as Deputy Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, heir-presumptive to the childless king. Ireland at once broke out again, and in 1397, when Mortimer pushed into Leinster with a punitive expedition,

the O'Tooles and other clans set on his army in a pass, defeated it, and slew him. To avenge this, Richard landed for a second time in Ireland in 1399, but this time Art MacMurrough was not content to burn New Ross. With about 3000 men he opposed the great English army's passage through the woods and hills of Leinster. His swift-footed spearmen hung on the flanks of the English, harassing every march and always avoiding a pitched encounter, until Richard's force was in desperate straits for provisions. With the utmost difficulty they fought their way through the Wicklow Hills to the sea, and there found three ships laden with supplies, which saved them. As they resumed their march northward along the coast, MacMurrough still harassed them, till finally there was a parley. The Irish king came to it riding bare-backed a horse that had cost him four hundred cows ; he galloped down the hillside faster, says the Frenchman who saw and described this, than ever horse or deer was seen to go, and brandishing a long spear as he rode. Nothing came of the parley : free pardon for all the past was demanded and refused. Richard laboriously made his way to Dublin, only to hear that Henry of Lancaster had usurped his throne.

Henry IV. was a strong king, yet Art MacMurrough maintained himself, throughout the whole of Henry's reign, an active enemy to all the English on his borders. He knew defeat as well as victory, but to the last he was a fighter, and in 1416, when the English of Wexford, infuriated by his constant inroads, mustered a force to put him down, he met them in the open and routed them. Next year he died, "a man full of hospitality, knowledge, and chivalry, full of prosperity and royalty, and the enricher of churches and monasteries." The Four Masters, who say this of him, say also that for forty-two years "he had defended his province from the English and the Irish." Great warrior that he was —and indeed the English had not met his equal since their coming to Ireland,—he had achieved no combination among England's "Irish enemies." His power was personal, and he left Ireland no stronger against England than it had been when he came to the throne ; nor was there after him any King of Leinster who had importance in history.

Before the death of Art MacMurrough, the greatest of English soldier-kings had come to the throne ; and in 1414, the year after his accession, Henry V. sent to Ireland one of

his most famous men-of war, Sir John Talbot, who lost no time, but at once struck outwards into the Irish marches. He plundered Leix, the territory of the O'Mores ; he raided into Irish Oriel—that is, Monaghan ; and he lifted cattle in West Meath. He plundered also " a great number of the poets of Ireland," whose houses seem to have been generally respected because they were very often " houses of hospitality, open to all comers." " And not only this," says the Annals, " but he gave no protection to either saint or sanctuary while he abode in Ireland."

Nevertheless, it was in the second year of Talbot's rule that Art MacMurrough beat the English of Wexford ; and in that same year O'Conor Faly beat those of Meath. In 1418, when Talbot himself made an expedition into Ulidia, the Maguires of Iveagh and O'Neills of Clandeboye harassed his retreat and inflicted great losses on him. Ireland remained unsubdued. Moreover, Talbot, who like many other great soldiers had little regard for the civilian population, revived the usage called " coyne and livery." This was first instituted by the first Earl of Desmond in 1330, while Ireland was still in a ferment after the Bruce wars. Desmond then found himself in a position that constantly confronted English governors, having no money to pay his troops or to buy supplies for them ; and consequently he quartered his army on the colonists, leaving them to exact their pay and keep from those on whom they were billeted. This practice became frequent, but caused so much natural discontent that it was forbidden and made treasonable by the statute of Kilkenny. Nevertheless, the great earls constantly used it in their own palatinates, and Talbot now in 1416 did the same in the Pale.

He was recalled in 1419, having earned general detestation ; but in 1424 he was again serving under the Earl of March, who then came to Ireland as Deputy. The Ulster chiefs came to March's headquarters to negotiate, and treaties were arranged. Then suddenly March died of the plague, and Talbot seized all the Irish nobles who were present under his guarantee. An O'Neill and an O'Donnell were detained, and only released on payment of heavy ransom. " These captures," it is said in the Annals, " were the cause of great disturbance in Ulster." They were certainly a legitimate cause of war with the English ; but unhappily at this period there was war everywhere in Ireland, without any directing purpose. It is useless

to recount the tribal complications in Connaught and Ulster. In 1444 hostilities broke out in the south also between Desmond and Ormonde.

Finally, in 1449, Richard, Duke of York, heir to the English crown, was appointed Lord-Lieutenant, to hold office for ten years. It was a definite attempt to pacify Ireland by bringing the power of the Crown into touch with its people through a ruler whom they might learn to know. Richard came to Dublin "with great glory and pomp," and was welcomed. "The earls of Ireland went into his house, as did also the Irish adjacent to Meath, and gave him as many beeves for the use of his kitchen as it pleased him to demand." The welcome was requited. Richard of York appears to have tried honestly to make peace in Ireland, and to save its people from oppression. It would seem also that he realised how baneful had been the constant interference from England, and the parliament which he called in 1450 declared that the Irish parliament was supreme in its own sphere and that no laws were valid in Ireland except those passed by the Lords and Commons of Ireland. This claim has only a historic importance, for no practical result flowed from it. But it shows how, at this early date, the English of Ireland, who alone were represented in parliament, felt the necessity for managing their own affairs with local knowledge.

A renewed law against the practice of coyne and livery has also little interest, except to prove the continuance of this oppression; for the great lords outside the Pale continued to put their soldiers at free quarters over the countryside, allowing them to enforce their own demands without any restraint of discipline.

The great lords needed great armies, for they were bitterly at war with each other—but especially Ormonde and Desmond. It was a main purpose of Richard of York to heal this feud, and he induced the two earls to stand sponsors for his son, the Duke of Clarence, who was born in Dublin. Sponsors to the same child were considered to be bound by gossipred, as if it were a tie of blood. But Richard of York's rule in Ireland was interrupted by civil war in England, and he returned there to defend his claim to succession to the Crown. This was only the Jack Cade rising. Two or three years later began the desperate Wars of the Roses, in which the Irish earls were all involved.

The lord of Desmond at this time was Earl James, who had forced his way to the succession on the Irish principle. He, like his kinsman the Earl of Kildare, was devoted from this period onward to the House of York. But Ormonde's connections were with the House of Lancaster, which held the throne; and his power at this period was greater than that of both Geraldines together. His successor, the fifth Earl, shared in England the triumphs and then the defeat of the House of Lancaster. After the accession of Edward IV. this Ormonde was executed. But the title and inheritance were restored to his heir, the sixth Earl, who returned to Ireland and immediately went to war with James of Desmond, now a very old man. Yet in the last year of his life Earl James had the satisfaction of seeing the Butlers routed in a pitched battle at Piltown, after which the Geraldines took Kilkenny, and the Earl of Ormonde only escaped capture by holding out in a fortress.

There was, however, a counterstroke when Ormonde's brother came by sea and took four ships belonging to the Earl of Desmond. Desmond's wealth appears to have been derived very largely from oversea trade, both with England and Southern Europe. Earl James had created the town and port of Youghal, and had given it a charter. This was one of the attributes of royalty which these lords exercised, just as they also created knights and barons.

In 1463 Earl James at last died, and Thomas, who is known as the Great Earl of Desmond, succeeded him. Edward IV. showed his gratitude to his Yorkist partisan by making him Lord Justice. The Irish seem to have expected friendly treatment from this new potentate, for O'Donnell, Mac-William Burke, and many others came to Dublin and entered into a league of friendship and fealty with him. Yet he proved to be a strict guardian of the English tradition in government, and presided in 1465 over a parliament which enacted that every Irishman living in the Pale must dress in the English fashion, assume an English name, and take the oath of allegiance. In the next year he headed an expedition against O'Conor Faly which went disastrously for him. He was defeated, captured along with a Nugent, a Plunkett, and other nobles of the Pale, and they were taken as prisoners to Carbury Castle in Kildare, not far from Edenderry. From here he escaped, it is said by the connivance of Teige O'Conor,

who was married to his sister. But the blow to English power was tremendous. Raiders from Offaly penetrated to Tara and to Naas; and Meath was raided also from Brefny and Oriel (that is, roughly, Cavan and Monaghan), and no opposition could be offered. In the south, O'Brien exacted tribute from the English of Leinster and of West Munster, and forced Desmond to acknowledge him as lord of County Limerick. The city of Limerick was obliged to agree to a yearly blackrent.

It is not surprising that Edward IV. should have sent over a new Deputy in 1467. The Earl of Worcester, on his coming, summoned a parliament in Dublin, but transferred its sittings to Drogheda: he feared an outbreak in the capital when it came to be known that the Earls of Kildare and Desmond were accused of treason. The charges were that they had illegally exacted coyne and livery, which was no doubt true, but in no way likely to lead to their downfall; the real indictment was that they had connected themselves with the Irish by marriage and fosterage. Desmond presented himself to defend his actions: he was seized and beheaded. Kildare escaped, went straight to the king, and procured a reversal of the attainder which had been passed against him and against Desmond.

Thus the earldom of Desmond lost nothing of its rights and position; but from this time out the Desmonds claimed a new privilege, that they should be neither expected to attend parliament nor to enter a walled town. Earl Thomas's fate marks a period in the history of this family; henceforward Desmond was specially remote from English influence—suspicious of English power, and suspected by it.

On the other hand, the Earl of Kildare's personal triumph marks the beginning of half a century in which the Earls of Kildare governed Ireland. During that period their relations with the northern princes of Tyrconnell and Tyrone were of a character new in Irish history, and they must be followed in another chapter.

The Irish powers which after Tyrone and Tyrconnell had most importance were Thomond and the MacWilliam Burkes of Connaught. These were not in quite the same class. Thomond was "mere Irish." The Burkes, after sixty years of definite revolt from the English connection, had returned to a status of partial allegiance. In the latter half of

the fourteenth century the Low Burkes of Mayo, Edmund Albanach's descendants, had contrived to assert a superiority over the Clanricarde branch. When Richard II. came to Ireland in 1394 it was part of his policy of conciliation to recognise the head of this branch as "head of the English of Connaught." Yet the Galway branch grew in power, and from about 1400 onward MacWilliam of Clanricarde was accepted as the superior. A great part of the High Burkes' strength lay in alliance with Thomond, which was fostered by Brian of the Battle of Aonach. From Brian's day there was much intermarriage. Teige O'Brien, who forced the Earl of Desmond in 1466 to admit his claim to County Limerick, had a Burke mother; so had his successor Conor, and Conor's daughter was married to Ulick MacWilliam Burke.

CHAPTER XV

THE GREAT EARL OF KILDARE AND HUGH ROE O'DONNELL

From 1470 to 1534 three successive Earls of Kildare virtually ruled all that part of Ireland which was in any practical sense subject to the English crown. The first of these, Earl Thomas, who got his attainder reversed in 1471, died in 1478, and was succeeded by Garrett, the Great Earl, who ruled till 1514.

The Earls of Kildare interfered little in Desmond, which they left to the Earls of Desmond, and the relations were friendly between the two Geraldine houses. But both Desmond and Kildare were weakened by jealousy and opposition from the house of Ormonde. This dissension was increased by English party strife—Ormonde remaining Lancastrian, the Geraldines Yorkist. When the Yorkist pretender, Lambert Simnel, appeared in Dublin, Kildare, then Deputy, recognised him as king and caused him to be crowned in Christ Church Cathedral. On the other hand, the Butlers, headed by Sir James Ormonde, held Waterford for Henry VII. Kildare was pardoned by Henry and allowed to continue as Deputy. But in 1492 a second pretender, Perkin Warbeck, appeared in Cork and was supported by Desmond. Kildare lent no countenance to Perkin, but he was not unnaturally suspected and deposed, and the Ormonde faction came into power. Great disturbances followed in Dublin and the Pale. The Irish clans all about had been kept quiet either by fear of Kildare or by the alliances which it was his practice to make with native rulers ; and they now began to raid the English settlements. Within the Pale itself, men of the Geraldine house, illegitimate sons or their descendants, were equally turbulent. Sir James Ormonde was the acting head of " the Butler nation " (for the seventh Earl was employed by Henry in England or abroad) ; and when he came to Dublin there was a riot, the citizens siding

with Kildare. Ormonde was driven to take refuge in the Chapter House of St Patrick's Cathedral, and when Kildare arrived, declaring peaceful intentions, Ormonde refused to let the door be opened. Finally, it was proposed that a hole should be cut in the door through which the two opponents could shake hands in pledge of truce; but Ormonde declined to put his hand through. Kildare reached his hand in and peace was made for the moment. The hole in the door is still shown.

Kildare and Sir James Ormonde were called to London to answer for their conduct, and, as a compromise, Sir Edward Poynings was sent over as Lord-Deputy. It was impossible that he should not lean to one of the two factions between which Ireland was divided, and he leant to Ormonde's side. While the Deputy was on an expedition into Ulster, accompanied by Ormonde, Kildare's brother seized the castle of Carlow in Ormonde's territory. Poynings was obliged to turn south and reduce Carlow by siege; after which he held at Drogheda in 1494 a parliament which passed what is known as Poynings' Act, declaring the complete dependence of the Irish parliament on the English executive. This Act, of which more must be said, was carried while Ormonde's influence was in the ascendant; and the same parliament passed an attainder against Kildare, who was sent a prisoner to England.

Matters looked black for him, since Perkin Warbeck, after an unsuccessful landing in Cork, had sailed to Waterford, where Desmond received him as the rightful king. But neither Desmond's army nor the eleven ships of Perkin's expedition could force Waterford to submit; and the *urbs intacta* got its name from resistance to these two pretenders. Generally in the fifteenth century the citizens of all these seaport towns were inclined to support the English Government, and trusted it to support them against the local lords. Yet Henry VII. realised that Ireland was at this time a serious danger to him. Hugh Roe O'Donnell, now a great power in Ulster, had been in treaty with James IV. of Scotland, who was also supporting Perkin. Desmond was too strong to be lightly attacked, and Kildare was more likely to persuade him to allegiance than any other person. Finally, in the Pale and the adjoining districts Kildare's partisans and kinsmen kept all in turmoil. Henry decided to investigate the Irish situa-

tion personally, and caused Kildare to be confronted with his accusers in the king's presence.

Hot-tempered, outspoken, and courageous, Earl Garrett evidently had the personal charm which was hereditary in his house. The line which he took is indicated by a famous story. "Being charged before Henry for burning the church of Cashel, and many witnesses prepared to avouch against him the truth of that article, when it was looked how he would justify the matter, 'By Jesus,' quoth he, 'I would never have done it, had it not been told me that the archbishop was within.' And because the archbishop was one of his accusers then present, the king merrily laughed at the plainness of the noble man."

The last article of the attainder ran in these terms: "Finally, all Ireland cannot rule this Earl!" "No," quoth the King; "then in good faith shall the Earl rule all Ireland."

These stories, whether accurate or no, were written down within the following century, and they put dramatically the truth, which is that Henry VII. determined to try in Ireland personal government by the strongest Anglo-Irish nobleman. Kildare was restored and sent back to Ireland as Deputy. He had an absolutely free hand to carry out his policy, which was to make the closest possible league with the strongest native power. In 1499 he sent his son to be fostered by the ruler of Tyrconnell, whose career shall now be traced.

Hugh Roe (the Red) O'Donnell was son of Neil Garv (the Rough). These names recur in the O'Donnell dynasty. His mother was Finola, daughter of Calvagh O'Conor Faly, one of the chiefs whom the Pale had most cause to dread. It is recorded that she was "the most stately, beautiful, renowned, and illustrious woman of her time, her own mother excepted." More must be said of Finola's mother, Lady Margaret O'Conor. Here it is important to note that Hugh Roe had through his mother a natural alliance with the O'Conors of West Leinster. Further, when Neil Garv died, Finola married the chief of the O'Neills of Clandeboye, who was generally at enmity with the house of Tyrone, and this also made a valuable connection for Hugh Roe, which he strengthened later by giving his daughter to Con O'Neill of this branch. It was his policy to encircle Tyrone with a ring of powers friendly to Tyrconnell, menacing to Tyrone.

For in Hugh Roe O'Donnell Ireland had produced a

statesman, not merely a warrior-chief. Yet, though his reign lasted from 1461 to 1505, it was all spent in war ; and long before he came to the throne his hand was in bloody work. The story of his life shall be traced in detail, for it gives an idea of Ireland at that time.

In 1434, when he was only seven years old, his father was captured by the English. Neil Garv had allied himself with O'Neill to attack the Pale ; they had held Dundalk to ransom, and had burnt the town of Louth ; then they separated their forces in pursuit of booty. English forces came up suddenly, took them in detail, and captured Neil Garv. Neil himself was carried to England, and died five years later while negotiations for his ransom were dragging along. His brother Naghtan succeeded him, and, for fear of chances, banished Neil's sons ; but twelve years later they got back and murdered him in the dark. Hugh Roe assisted his elder brother Donnell in this killing. Then followed " great wars between Donnell, the son of Neil Garv, and Rory, the son of Naghtan, concerning the lordship of Tyrconnell, so that the country was thrown into confusion between them." This feud between the sons of two brothers for the headship lasted all through Hugh Roe's life. It was entirely typical of the time in all the Irish dynasties, O'Briens, O'Conors, and the rest ; and it was also typical of all dynasties in Europe of the period. But Ireland, having many kingships, suffered worse from this evil.

To resume the story. First, Donnell, son of Neil, was installed ; then he was " treacherously taken prisoner by O'Doherty in his own house " and imprisoned in Inch Castle, on Lough Swilly. Rory, son of Naghtan, wanting to get hold of his rival, mustered a force with help from Macquillin of Antrim and O'Cahan of County Derry, and with their mercenaries laid siege to Inch. The garrison were ready to give Donnell up, when he asked to be released from his gyves, that he might die like a man. Then leaping to the top of the castle, he saw his enemy below him, and pushed down a huge stone which lit on Rory's skull. " By this throw Donnell saved his life and the lordship of Tyrconnell." But he did not keep it long. The other sons of Naghtan, who were now banished, had recourse to Henry O'Neill of Tyrone. O'Neill marched with them into Inishowen, and Donnell on hearing of their coming hastened with no following, except his brother,

Hugh Roe, and the MacSwiney Fanad, chief of their regular galloglasses, to reach a border castle and put a guard there. But this little group ran into the invading forces, who " did not show them the rights of men, nor did they oppose to them an equal number of their forces, but the many rushed upon the few," so that Donnell was slain and Hugh Roe taken. For three years Hugh Roe was a prisoner, while Turlogh, son of Naghtan, ruled, having support from O'Neill's power. Liberated at last, Hugh and his brothers made their way into Fanad, where the MacSwineys stood to him. Turlogh set out against them with " his brothers, his troops, and a battalion of Scotsmen then in his service." They met at the pass out of Fanad, by the upper end of Mulroy, and after a fierce battle Turlogh was defeated, captured, and afterwards maimed—to disqualify him for lordship. The victors then marched on to Kilmacrenan, and Hugh Roe was inaugurated O'Donnell in the traditional manner at the Rock of Doon. He was now thirty-four, and he had to lift himself and his country out of this welter of barbarism in which he had been brought up.

The O'Donnell power was necessarily much reduced by this period of internal strife, and Hugh Roe, unlike most other Irish chieftains, realised that the best way to power was through a period of peace. Disregarding the custom that each new chief should open his reign with a hosting, for six years he undertook no war. It was not for lack of provocation. In 1464 his younger brother Con was slain by Egneghan, eldest survivor of Naghtan O'Donnell's sons: and, after this, O'Neill with the sons of Naghtan plundered into Tyrconnell as far as Ballyshannon. They were attacked in their retreat and lost men, but no counter raid was undertaken. Henry O'Neill at this time was very powerful, and Edward IV. had just sent him presents, scarlet cloth and a gold chain. Hugh Roe was, however, building up power by a system of alliances reaching far south. The O'Kellys of Hy Many in Galway and the MacWilliams of Mayo were his " friends and confederates," and when Clanricarde, with help from Thomond, levied war against these allies of his, he marched down into Connaught and forced Clanricarde to make peace. Another year was passed in gradually strengthening his power in North Connaught: one of the O'Conors was persuaded to restore to him the castle of Bundrowes on

the important border south of the Erne. In 1469 he undertook his first important war. With all Tyrconnell, joined by the "rising out" of Lower Connaught, he marched into Mayo, and MacWilliam of Mayo tendered submission and agreed to join in an expedition against the High Burkes of Clanricarde. Their country was raided down to Clare Galway, and here Ulick Burke of Clanricarde, backed by his father-in-law, Conor O Brien of Thomond, gave them battle. O'Donnell is said to have been victorious, though not decisively. But for two hundred years no King of Tyrconnell had penetrated so far south.

In the next year Hugh Roe turned on the O'Conors of Sligo, took their castle, and forced them to pay a ransom which included two famous manuscripts, captured by the O'Conors from the O'Donnells ten reigns earlier. One of these, the Book of the Dun Cow, written early in the twelfth century, survives, with an inscription in the year 1345 to say that it was then in an O'Conor's possession. Later in 1469, Hugh went with an army into Brefny to inaugurate O'Rourke as lord of the country, but he was prevented by O'Reilly, the rival claimant, who had English support.

Thus in 1470, when Thomas, Earl of Kildare, became Deputy after the reversal of his attainder, Hugh Roe O'Donnell had been lord of Tyrconnell nine years, had made himself paramount in northern Connaught, and was pushing up his power into Cavan.

During all this time, too, he had wisely avoided war with the chief of Tyrone, who was now a formidable opponent, because his son Con O'Neill was married to the daughter of Earl Thomas of Kildare. O'Donnell was not seeking alliance with Tyrone, but was weakening him by intrigue. One of the O'Neills was married to O'Donnell's sister, and he held the castle of Omagh, near O'Donnell's marches. This O'Neill, with his brothers, went over to O'Donnell, and so hostilities began. Then followed two years of border warfare in which the sons of Art O'Neill, rival to Henry, the ruling O'Neill, sided with Tyrconnell, and the sons of Naghtan O'Donnell sided with Tyrone.

Yet during this period Hugh Roe was able to march into Connaught and secure for himself the rents usually paid to O'Conor Sligo. Moreover, he began the work by which he is best remembered, founding the monastery of Donegal,

which came to be one of the chief centres of Irish traditional learning, and is inseparably connected with the work of the Four Masters. His wife Finola was joint foundress with him. She was daughter to Conor O'Brien; but Hugh Roe and the rulers of Thomond were constantly opposed. Probably this marriage represented an attempt of his diplomacy which failed.

In 1475 a demonstration of his power was given by a "circuitous hosting." Accompanied by Maguire of Fermanagh, by O'Rourke of Brefny, and all the chiefs of Lower Connaught, O'Donnell marched into Cavan, where a reconciliation between O'Rourke and O'Reilly was effected, O'Donnell holding O'Reilly's son as a pledge of its observance. Thence he proceeded into Annaly, in County Longford, to assist the sons of the O'Farrell, who was his friend, and he established them "in power and might." Then, entering West Meath, he burned the castle towers of Delvin; received blackrent from the Dillons and Daltons, nobles of the Pale; and so into Offaly, where his cousin, the ruling O'Conor, asked for revenge on the English for the death of his father, brother of Hugh Roe's mother. Having pillaged the whole country from Mullingar to the Shannon, O'Donnell crossed into Connaught, in boats provided by his allies the O'Kellys of Hy Many; and so, marching through Clanricarde, Mayo, and Lower Connaught, he came home, "having received submission and gained victory in every place through which he had passed."

He was not yet, however, completely lord in Connaught. The MacWilliams of Mayo forced him to agree to a division of the lordship with them, and in 1478 the castle of Sligo was taken from his garrison by them and handed back to the O'Conors.

In this year Earl Thomas died, and Garrett became Earl of Kildare. Neither Tyrone nor Tyrconnell was free from feuds, and in 1480 Hugh Roe held a conference with the sons of Naghtan, and, as a measure of reconciliation, agreed that the eldest, Egneghan O'Donnell, should be appointed tanist. In the same year Earl Garrett as Deputy came into Tyrone in support of his brother-in-law, Con O'Neill. Two years later Henry O'Neill was slain by the English, and Con became lord of Tyrone—with Kildare's support in the background.

All this strengthened Tyrone; but O'Donnell had formed

a new alliance with the O'Neills of Clandeboye, and they joined him when he marched eastwards through Cavan and Oriel and attacked Dundalk. Earl Garrett promptly accepted the challenge and came out in pursuit. But O'Donnell's combination beat him off, and then marched back through Tyrone without let or hindrance.

The plan for securing union in the O'Donnell clan failed. Egneghan, the chosen tanist, once more sided with O'Neill; but Hugh Roe's power was unshaken. He asserted it repeatedly in Connaught against both the Galway and Mayo Burkes; and in 1487, when his ally Felim O'Rourke was seized by his own kin in Brefny, the army of Tyrconnell marched down, besieged and took the castle, and put Felim back in power. Felim "levied a protection tribute upon Brefny, to be paid to O'Donnell and his successors."

It is noted twice in the same year that when a church was robbed by one of his allies on a hosting in Connaught, O'Donnell made full amends to the priests.

Hugh Roe had now been nearly thirty years in power, and the generation of his sons and nephews were coming to manhood—a turbulent stock, anxious for war. But his own mind was for peace. In 1491 he and Con O'Neill went together to Kildare, asking him to arbitrate between them. The attempt failed, but in 1492 an armistice was agreed to. At this point Kildare ceased to be Deputy, and in 1493 Con O'Neill was treacherously killed by his brother Henry Oge. Hereupon O'Donnell marched into Tyrone and set up his claimant, Donnell O'Neill, another brother. But Henry Oge had still behind him the powerful clan of the O'Cahans, and later in the year attacked and slew Donnell, and made himself king. When Hugh Roe with O'Rourke and O'Conor had made a hosting into south-eastern Ulster, plundered Lecale in County Down and Magennis's territory of Iveagh, Henry Oge joined with Magennis and Macmahon to attack the raiding army, and beset them in a pass where the Bann flows down from the Mourne Mountains. But O'Donnell extricated his army from the ravine, and, giving battle on the open ground, was again the victor.

In 1494 Poynings came over as Deputy, and, as has been seen, moved north, hoping doubtless to endeavour to break this formidable Irish king. O'Donnell now did what no Irish king had done since the time of Edward Bruce. He

sought for alliance in Scotland, went there in person, and was received with great honour by James IV., then supporting Perkin Warbeck against Henry VII. It is, however, dangerous for a personal ruler to withdraw his power; and in Hugh's absence his son, Con O'Donnell, laid siege to Sligo, which Hugh himself had tried and failed to recover from the O'Conors in the previous year. Con took a small force, and the whole of the O'Conors and MacDermots of Lower Connaught, believing Hugh Roe well out of the way, rose to overwhelm the Kinel Connell. But O'Donnell, as it chanced, returned to Donegal during these events, and next day set out for Sligo, hearing of the danger; he was in the fight when it began, and once more, "as was often the case with him," he saw the backs of his enemies.

It has to be remembered that he was now an old man and his sons very active warriors. The Four Masters, who wrote in Donegal and inherited the bounty of the O'Donnells, tell a story of Con O'Donnell which is not in the other Annals and may be doubted. According to them, Con never took into the field more than "twelve score axemen for making a standing fight, and sixty horsemen for following up the rout." With this "great little army," as it was called, Con set out for the glens of Antrim, where he was told that McKeown (the Bissets, original Norman settlers of de Courcy's time, were now so called) had the finest wife, horse, and hound in his country. Con had sent to ask for the steed, but was refused it, and now came to take wife, hound, and horse as well. Returning from this foray, he is said to have marched south, crossed the Shannon, and plundered part of MacCarthy's country in Kerry. True or not, this story indicates his turbulence, and he was not the only one of his kind. Next year his brother, Hugh Oge O'Donnell, seized the castle of Ballyshannon. Con went to put him out of it with forces from the north of Donegal, and Hugh Oge got help from Maguire of Fermanagh. A battle followed in which Maguire took refuge in termonland—that is to say, church property, which ordinarily gave sanctuary. Con disregarded this, captured Maguire, and slew one of his principal kinsmen. Later in the year he killed his own brother John, and shortly after killed Egneghan O'Donnell, sometime tanist, who was his foster-father, and therefore was as sacred to him by Irish custom as his father by blood. This was to clear away rivals

who might possibly stand in his way. Such were the measures by which an ambitious Irish noble often made his way to power, and it is clear that Hugh Roe felt able neither to punish nor prevent. What he did showed greatness. "In consequence of the dissensions of his sons," he resigned his lordship, and Con, who evidently had a strong military party with him, was named the O'Donnell.

Immediately strife broke out. The High Burkes of Clanricarde sent a fleet to assist Con against his rival Hugh Oge, who defeated them at first, but was afterwards taken and sent back with Burke as a prisoner. Next, Con made a hosting into Connaught against the MacDermots, but only half of those who ordinarily answered Hugh Roe's summons joined Con. The rest were with the MacDermots, and in the fight it would seem that some of Con's army turned on him and helped in his defeat. The famous Cathach or Battle Book, Columkille's psalter, was taken from the O'Donnells. After this disaster came, naturally, a great inroad of the O'Neills, who first spoiled Fanad; these, as they marched westward, were met by Con at a crossing of the River Lennon by Belatha-daire (which is probably Ballyarr, between Ramelton and Lough Fern). Con fell with one hundred and sixty others, besides many taken. After these fights all the heads of the MacSwiney soldier clan seem to have been prisoners. O'Neill withdrew to his own country, capturing as he went a castle on the River Derg not far from Omagh, and Hugh Roe "took possession of his lordship again by consent of God and man." His first act was to procure the release of his son Hugh Oge from Clanricarde, after which the old chief "proffered the lordship to his son," who declined it. Then "both commenced governing their principality and humbling their neighbours and borderers, who began to resist their authority by reason of the contests of O'Donnell's sons with each other."

Irish history gives many examples of kings who in their age gave up kingship and later sought to return to it. Hugh Roe was the only one who did it with success. It was now, in 1497, forty-five years since he had begun his career by joining his brother to slay the ruling prince. He was seventy years old, but for the remaining eight years of his life he was more powerful than ever as a warrior and as a statesmen, carrying out a definite policy. This was a policy of alliance with Kildare, who in 1496 had been restored to the post of Deputy,

and further strengthened by marriage with Henry VII.'s kinswoman.

O'Donnell was helped by feuds in the rival house of O'Neill. Henry Oge O'Neill, the ruler who had defeated Con O'Donnell on the Lennon, had slain his brother Con, husband to Kildare's sister. Now in 1498 Con's sons, Turlough and Con Bacagh (the Lame), contrived to slay Henry Oge. Then came a series of the usual slaughters which attended wars of succession in mediæval Ireland, as in mediæval England. Finally, Hugh Roe marched in and attacked Tyrone from the west, while at the same time Kildare moved up from the south, invited by one party of the O'Neills, by O'Donnell, and by O'Donnell's ally Maguire. In company with "the greater number of the Irish of the province," Kildare attacked O'Neill's stronghold, the castle of Dungannon, took it, and liberated many captives, including one of Hugh Roe's sons. O'Donnell's candidate, Donnell O'Neill, was set up as ruler.

This siege marks an epoch. The castle was taken "by great guns." Henceforward the British Government possessed a resource which no Irish chief could dispose of.

During the centuries since the Norman invasion, Irishmen had learnt how to meet whatever equipment the English possessed, and no English force in the fourteenth or fifteenth century had anything resembling the superiority which the Normans possessed for at least fifty years. The principle of maintaining a standing force had been universally adopted in Ireland. Everyone who needed to make war had his Scottish galloglasses or his Irish bonnaughts—that is, men on permanent service. When guns came into fashion, the O'Donnells had them as soon as the English. In 1489 six hand-guns or musquets were sent "out of Germany for a great rarity" to the Earl of Kildare, and the guard over his house at Maynooth used to bear them. Yet in 1487, when Hugh Roe was besieging a castle in Brefny, an O'Rourke was killed by Godfrey, son of Hugh Gallda O'Donnell, "with the shot of a ball." Hugh Gallda, "the foreignised," had no doubt seen wars abroad and brought back the foreign weapon.

But the Irish, like the Afghans till recently, had no means of manufacturing the new armament. They had learnt from the Normans to build castles, and they used this resource against the English of later times. But from the close of the fifteenth century the English, possessing cannon, had the

answer to a policy of castle-building. Probably Hugh Roe saw this. He was soldier rather than warrior, the only Irishman of his time who undertook and carried out prolonged campaigns, and he realised that his chance lay in working with Kildare, not against him. It was in 1499, the year after he had made a league of the northern Irish to bring Kildare to Dungannon, that Hugh Roe went into the English territory to meet Earl Garrett, and came back bringing the Earl's son to be fostered in his house.

All this marks a new departure. Kildare went to Tyrone at O'Donnell's instance, but with no idea of annexing Tyrone. He set up O'Donnell's choice of an O'Neill ruler, but showed no purpose of making Tyrone subject to Tyrconnell or of violating any Irish rule of succession. O'Donnell came freely into English territory, without fear of being detained by treachery, and he went back with the strongest pledge of alliance. In all this the English Government had nothing to say. Kildare and O'Donnell were responsible for the policy, which was indeed actually contrary to English law.

There was still trouble in O'Donnell's household. His son Donough took the border castle of Bundrowes from the old chief's garrison. O'Donnell and Hugh Oge went down to retake it, and were joined by Maguire from Fermanagh. In a skirmish Philip Maguire took Donough, and at once handed him to Hugh Roe; but Hugh Roe gave back the captive for Maguire to hold to ransom, and, moreover, rewarded Philip Maguire with sixty cows for his exploit. This episode illustrates the rudimentary state of political organisation in Ireland and the determination of Hugh Roe to establish discipline in his government. That was a necessary condition for carrying out any policy.

It is clear that a policy in regard to Connaught must have been arranged between him and Kildare at their meeting, for in this year the Deputy pushed out from the Pale and crossed the Shannon, where in County Galway he pulled down one O'Kelly and set up another, and in County Roscommon did the same by the O'Conors. As soon as Kildare's force withdrew, MacWilliam Burke of Clanricarde undid what the Deputy had done. Meantime O'Donnell, who in the previous year had by diplomacy got back the castle of Leitrim, used it to cross the Shannon into MacDermot's country, Moylurg, and began ravaging it, till MacDermot sued for peace, paid

his tribute, and restored the Cathach and the prisoners taken in the day of Con O'Donnell's defeat.

In 1500 O'Donnell and Kildare, jointly, invaded Tyrone. Clearly Hugh Roe's nominee, Donnell O'Neill, must have quarrelled with Hugh Roe, for he was now deposed, and Kildare's nephew Turlough was set up in his place. But the Kinel Owen, as a whole, were little disposed to submit to this intervention, and very shortly after Donnell dispossessed the younger man.

Through his new league O'Donnell was involved in all the Lord Deputy's quarrels, and Kildare was as determined to make himself felt in the south as in the north. He had attacked the O'Briens, who were levying blackrent off Limerick, and to attack the O'Briens was to offend Clanricarde. Now Kildare had given his daughter to the ruling lord of Clanricarde, Ulick MacWilliam Burke ; but it is said that MacWilliam ill-treated his wife, and so a feud arose. This Ulick Burke, however, had plenty of feuds on his hands, especially with his kinsmen the Low Burkes of Mayo. When Edmund Burke, head of the Mayo clan, was returning from pilgrimage to St James of Compostella in Spain, he was seized by Ulick on his landing in Galway and held to ransom. With his border neighbours, the O'Kellys of Hy Many, Clanricarde had constant war, and these, like the Low Burkes, were within reach of Hugh Roe's influence. In 1504 when Clanricarde demolished the castles of Garbally, Monivea, and Gallagh, O'Kelly decided to follow O'Donnell's example and ask for the Lord Deputy's intervention, which for at least a century had not been invoked in Connaught.

Kildare was not slow to act on this occasion. He mustered the English forces, and was joined by Hugh Roe with all the power of Tyrconnell ; by some of the O'Conors, and by MacDermot, who had submitted to Hugh Roe ; by O'Conor Faly, Hugh Roe's kinsman ; by the Burkes of Mayo ; by O'Reilly and O'Farrell, also allies of O'Donnell ; and, moreover, by the chiefs of eastern Ulster, Macmahon, Magennis, and O'Hanlon : in short, virtually by all Leath Cuinn, except Tyrone and the county of Galway.

Against them Clanricarde mustered his own forces and those of his hereditary ally O'Brien of Thomond, joined with the Irish chiefs of East Munster, of whom O'Carroll of Ely in Tipperary was the most important. This force, being

nearer to its bases, was much the more numerous when the armies met at the hill of Knocktow, eight miles north-east of Galway.

It was one of the notable battles in Irish history, far more truly a battle between Leath Cuinn and Leath Mogha than between the English and the Irish, though Kildare was in command. Victory rested with the north and the English. The losses of the Irish on both sides were so heavy that Preston, Lord Gormanston, is related to have said to Kildare that they should finish their work by wiping out what remained of their Irish allies. But there is no trace in Kildare's policy of any such disposition, and the Irish account represents him as holding counsel after the battle and taking O'Donnell's advice. They camped on the field, and next day occupied Galway, after which they took Athenry. It was an enormous triumph for Kildare's policy, and he was rewarded with the Garter.

That policy abandoned the idea of simply standing on the defensive in the Pale, and trusting that jealousies among the Irish, combined with bribes, would prevent the settlement from being swept away. It was the policy of a strong rule based on native support loyally recognised, and it was carried out with the assistance of the ablest Irish prince of that century. Hugh Roe undoubtedly saw as well as Kildare the need for a strong rule, and the victory of Knocktow was his as much as Kildare's. It was his last achievement. He died next year, seventy-eight years old, in his own fortress at Donegal, which he had "raised that it might serve as a sustaining bulwark for his descendants," and was buried in the monastery there which he had erected. He was, say the Four Masters, "the most jovial and valiant, the most prudent in war and peace, and of the best jurisdiction, law, and rule of all the Gaels of Ireland in his time, for there was no defence made of the houses in Tyrconnell in his time except to close the door against the wind only." He was also "the best protector of the Church and the learned." This is a great praise, but much more able to be justified than most of the panegyrics in the Annals. The man was a real soldier and a real ruler, and his work stood. Hugh Oge, who succeeded him, maintained his power, which had only for the most part a wild and mountainous territory to sustain it. Yet when Kildare's policy was reversed, and all Irish chiefs were

treated as England's natural enemies, to be treated only as friends when there was hope that this might lead them to destroy each other, Tyrconnell became the very core of Ireland's resistance ; and another Hugh Roe O'Donnell earned greater fame in war against the English than the first in league with Kildare.

CHAPTER XVI

TRANSITION FROM THE MEDIÆVAL PERIOD

At the beginning of the sixteenth century civilised Europe was grouping itself into strong, well-organised States, each under a single ruler. Ireland remained still broken into a multitude of petty principalities, the character of which may be judged from the account given of Hugh Roe O'Donnell's career. Tyrconnell was not less civilised, but more, than other Irish lordships of the period. Yet Hugh Roe's history also illustrates a growing tendency for many smaller units to become grouped under the control and protection of one stronger. The constant loyalty of the Maguires of Fermanagh to Hugh Roe is a proof that he gave them good protection, for they were a rich trading people. Many of his wars were undoubtedly expeditions to recover the "protection-rent" which was the price of peace. Moreover, it is clear that Hugh Roe was prepared to accept the leadership of the Earls of Kildare, representing the English power in Ireland, much as the Maguires accepted his leadership. If Ireland had stood alone, all pointed to the gradual creation of a monarchy, probably in one of the Anglo-Norman houses.

But, considering Ireland as part of the English dominions, the Earls of Kildare were already an anachronism. England, like the other leading States of Europe, was passing into a stage in which kings would rule through ministers of their own choice and creation, and not through a semi-independent hereditary nobility. During the period of England's weakness in Ireland, the Irish had not succeeded in creating a central native power of their own. All the development towards unity that had gone on pointed to union under one of these great English subjects. On the other hand, the development which had taken place in England pointed to the breaking up of these petty kingdoms or earldoms about which Ireland was

tending to combine. Ireland was certain to be faced with the choice between resistance by war or submission to an English monarchy which would recognise no hereditary ruler except the monarch in its dominions. England was far better organised than it had been under Henry II.; Ireland more disorganised than Henry II. had found it. Moreover, modern invention had provided the English kings with munitions more than equivalent to men. Artillery and gunpowder had multiplied the superiority of the more advanced civilisation. Ireland, politically undeveloped, materially unequipped, was faced with a hopeless contest.

The political backwardness which left them discounted was the cause of their under-equipment, since no central Irish power existed that could procure cannon and powder in large quantities. In the absence of this central power of its own, Ireland would almost inevitably have come to accept the central English Government, had nothing stood in the way but Ireland's natural attachment to the old principle of local rule. It will be seen that a statesmanlike attempt was made under Henry VIII. to bring this to pass, by giving recognition to the native Irish princes as territorial nobles, holding the same relation to the Crown as those of Norman descent ; and, at the same time, by curbing the excessive power of the great earldoms.

Yet in any case the problem of applying a uniform system of government to the two countries must have been most difficult. Superficially, they appeared then far more like to each other than at present. The populations were not at all so unequal in numbers. Also, both were agricultural communities, working in similar conditions of climate ; and though town life was more developed in England than in Ireland, there was not at all the distinction which has been marked since the nineteenth century, when England became mainly industrial and Ireland remained agricultural except in one district.

But in reality the difference between England and Ireland in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was even greater than at present. England had an advanced civilisation, developed from the Roman Empire. The ideas which governed Ireland came from another and an earlier world. The trouble was not that Ireland had no law or civilisation. It had a civilisation and a system of laws and customs which did not

at all easily fuse with those under which England had grown to be what England was. There must inevitably have been great friction and much hardship to individuals and classes before there could be complete adjustment under one rule.

Yet somehow the same problem was gradually solved in Scotland, where the Gaelic order of society came into contact and conflict with English and Norman ideas. The reason is that up to the end of the sixteenth century Scotland was a separate State, free to work out its problems for itself with comparatively little hindrance. Ireland never had this chance. As has been seen, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries England had been either too weak or too much occupied elsewhere to make any real attempt at reducing Ireland to what would then have been a modern system of government; while, on the other hand, it refused to leave Ireland free to attempt this for itself. By the sixteenth century, when England had the strength and made a systematic attempt, a new factor had come in which increased the difficulty tenfold.

The period in which Europe was being transformed into solid States, under strong monarchies working through ministers and officials employed directly by the Crown, was also the period of the Renaissance or revival of learning. Closely connected with this was the theological upheaval which divided Europe into two hostile camps. Whether we regard the official changes in doctrine made in England during the sixteenth century as a reformation or as a lapse into heresy, there can be no doubt that the English people were prepared for them. Influences had been at work in England, and also in Scotland, which made ready the way for a breach with Rome. These influences had never been felt in Ireland. This cannot be justly attributed to any special zeal in Ireland for the Catholic religion. It had been England's policy to man all important ecclesiastical posts in those parts of Ireland which England could control with Englishmen, who were regarded much more as political administrators than as divines. Church preferment had been used as a reward for services that had nothing to do with religion: and no attempt had been made to secure men able to teach and preach through the language of the country. The result had inevitably been religious apathy. There is ample evidence that this apathy spread to the clergy outside the Pale. The orders of poor

friars did much to maintain a living religious zeal by teaching, preaching, and example, and they were much beloved; generally, however, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Ireland was a land neither of religious nor intellectual activity.

The worst feature was the absence of higher teaching. Attempts to found a university in Dublin failed, as has been seen, and in the reign of Henry IV. resort of Irish students to Oxford and Cambridge was forbidden: a disastrous detail in the policy of regarding as "Irish enemies" all the native inhabitants of a land which the King of England claimed. Nor does it seem that there was as yet much recourse to Continental centres of study. Direct intercourse with the Continent developed largely: but it was the intercourse of commerce.

Trade was mainly in the hands of dwellers in seaports, and these towns were neither wholly English nor Irish. Dundalk, Drogheda, and Dublin, towns of the Pale, were predominantly English; Wexford, with the country just south of it, remained English-speaking; but the region which these towns served was mainly native Irish. Waterford was under the Ormonde influence, and so more English than the others further south and west. Youghal and Dungarvan grew up under the Desmond protection; and Cork had Desmond for its overlord: and of Desmond at least it was true to say that its lords were more Irish than the Irish themselves. Limerick looked for protection to the other Geraldines, for the Earls of Kildare still owned great manors in the valley of the Maigue at Croom and at Adare. But the O'Briens were on both banks of the Shannon, and Limerick paid them tribute. Galway, which was to begin with practically Clanricarde's town, sprang into a strong life of its own. Yet even here the desire to remain English was evidenced by several statutes against the use of Irish in its public business and the unrestrained entry of Irishmen within its walls. This was, however, really a desire for its local freedom. The townsfolk did not wish that their business or their lives should be at the mercy of swordsmen from without the walls, whether they belonged to Irish chief or Anglo-Irish lord.

By the close of the fifteenth century all these seaport towns were seeking to emancipate themselves from the burdensome protection of territorial magnates. They were more and more inclined to trust to the protection of their walls, and

they became small but almost independent communities electing their own magistrates. Galway is the extreme example of this, and Galway was the most remote from English ports and perhaps the safer for that. Piracy was in this age a great danger, and the Irish Channel offered no security from it. Cork was perilous of access, for the whole south coast of Ireland is indented with creeks that give lodgment to sea-raiders. But from Galway the run to Spain, where the city's chief trade lay, took a vessel well clear of the coast once it was past Aran. South of that to the Shannon is a bleak and harbourless shore. Aran indeed was a possible base for pirates, and the citizens of Galway paid twelve tuns of wine yearly to the branch of the O'Briens who owned the Aran islands for protection to their ships.

Galway's history is worth recalling as one example of what was going on in all these places. The town was first little more than a castle and residence of the de Burghs from 1232, when Richard de Burgh became master of it, up to 1270, when it was first encompassed with walls. After this date began the coming of English settlers, Lynches, Blakes, Skerritts, and others, who built houses there and began the commercial life. After the revolt of the Burkes, the town's connection with England was very slight for fifty years; during the fourteenth century customs do not seem to have been paid there more than one year in four. In 1388 Blake, then the leading citizen, with all the burgesses at his back, rang the town bell and declared solemnly their allegiance to de Burgh, then "the king's enemy." But before the end of the century they had come to terms with the Crown, secured the right to levy taxes for all time for the maintenance of their walls, and also the privilege of electing their own "sovereign" or mayor; heretofore, the ruling de Burgh had appointed all the town's magistrates. They were at the same time given all the rights which had been accorded to Drogheda, a town of the Pale.

Citizenship became a thing of value, and its possessors were jealous of their monopoly. It meant wealth. A Lynch was rich enough to build the great bridge which spanned the Corrib river. He was called by an Irish name, Eamonn na Tuaine (Edmund of the wine-tuns); but the corporation to which he belonged enacted that no one should set land or tenement to an Irishman in Galway. The town was to be

kept for the freemen, who regarded themselves as English, even though they probably used the Irish tongue in all their daily intercourse. They enacted that no goods should be shipped in or out except for a freeman; they made themselves strong in their monopoly. They were given the privilege of a mint of their own. Further, since Galway lay at this time in the diocese of Annaghdown, a purely Irish see, they succeeded in persuading the Pope to allow them a separate ecclesiastical head of their own, appointed by the citizens. He was called Warden of Galway—an office which lasted till the middle of the nineteenth century.

Before the Battle of Knocktow, MacWilliam of Clanricarde, uncertain how the citizens of Galway would side, seized the town. After his defeat, no resistance was offered to the entry of Kildare and O'Donnell. It would appear as if the burgesses were not sorry to see their too powerful neighbour-lord reduced.

The town's trade can be judged by the articles on which customs were levied; and these did not vary greatly from those of Dublin. Wine was the principal import, but also iron, both from England and Spain, as well as tinware and copper. Dublin imported coal, but it is not among the Galway items. The exports were corn, salt, meat and hides, pelts and furs, timber, salt-fish of all kinds, butter and cheese. There was a strong trade in cloth, both inwards and outwards; Irish woollens and linens went out, but there came in cloth of Flanders, Normandy, and Brabant; silk, satin, and cloth of gold; with such luxuries as figs, raisins, dates, and spices. Glass was imported, both white and coloured.

No doubt life within the towns was freer and more civilised than in the country. The townsfolk combined to protect themselves: the others were at the will of their lord, and of the soldiery whom he maintained and quartered upon them. But the chiefs of the country were certainly conversant with town life, and probably often went to and fro. At the beginning of the twentieth century a very similar state of things still existed in Morocco. Walled towns kept their gates carefully shut from fear of raids from the wild tribesmen about; but the chiefs of these same tribes, during times when they were at peace with the towns, might be seen moving, richly dressed, among richly dressed citizens, often distin-

guished by the fact they carried arms. They were the town's best customers and the town's most dangerous enemies.

The life which these Irish chieftains led is difficult for us to picture. But it was far remote indeed from the life of savages, to which it has often been compared. Kildare, Ormonde, and Desmond were all great princely nobles; Desmond virtually an independent prince. All these were fully in the stream of European culture, and all made marriage alliances with the native Irish. Kildare and Ormonde were both closely connected with the King of England; they were not the men to give their daughters to savages. Garrett, the Great Earl of Kildare, had a house the finest in Ireland; his library was a great one for those days, containing over a hundred volumes in Latin, French, Irish, and English—about twenty each of Irish and English. Yet he was as nearly related by marriage to O'Neill as to Ormonde or to Clanricarde.

The house to which he sent his daughter was probably a house built of timber, not of stone; but it was certainly a house of precious heirlooms, goblets richly wrought. Kildare's daughter would come finely dressed, but that need not set her apart from the ladies of purely Irish race. Margaret O'Carroll, wife of Calvagh O'Conor Faly and mother of Finola, who was mother of Hugh Roe O'Donnell, gave in one year two general feasts to the learned of Ireland and Scotland. There gathered to her house 2700 persons—poets, historians, and musicians, all of whose names were recorded by MacEgan, chief Brehon to O'Conor Faly. Margaret received them on the steps of the great church, "clad in cloth of gold, her dearest friends about her," her clergy and her judges also there; while her husband, Calvagh, "sat on horseback by the church's outward side to the end that all things might be done orderly and each one served successively." The Lady Margaret was, too, a great maker of highroads and bridges, a great provider of churches and mass books—in a word, a bountiful patroness of learning, religion, and civilisation. It has been said that a State's progress in civilisation can be judged by the position accorded to women. The Irish Annals make it clear that both in the Irish kingdoms and in the earldoms women played a great and accepted part as advisers in policy, though by Irish custom they did not bear rule.

In building, the Irish were no way behind the Anglo-Irish:

Ross Errilly, near Headford, in a purely Irish part of Galway, was built in 1350; the Abbey of Quin, in Clare, also Franciscan, was completed by the Macnamaras in 1402, twenty years before Desmond founded his monastery at Askeaton, fifty before the other Geraldines built theirs at Adare. But the distinctive mark of this period is the constantly recurring reference in the Annals to individual poets and patrons of poetry. Some of the ancient centres of learning survived. In 1432, when the English marched to Armagh, we read that they "gave gifts to the clergy and students." But essentially the centres of intellectual life were to be found in the families where literature and learning were hereditary. These did not lack encouragement; in 1352 O'Kelly of Hy Many gave his "general invitation to the learned of Ireland." It looks as if this marked a revival of the old patronage of literature, and it was not confined to the native Irish. Garrett, Earl of Desmond, who died in 1398, is said to have "excelled all the English and many of the Irish in the knowledge of Irish language, poetry, and history." Felim O'Neill, who died in 1461, "had purchased more poetry and had a larger collection of poems that any other man of his time." It was the fashion to patronise literature, and the rewards were such that many poets "kept a house of hospitality for all comers." Only of one is it recorded that he was "head of the inhospitability of Ireland," and had sworn never to give butter with bread to any man. But his successor was "head of the festivity of Ireland."

These people, however, were a very different element of culture from that which Clonmacnoise represented in Ireland during the ninth century, or Oxford in the England of the fifteenth. Instead of turning the mind of Ireland outward to Europe as Clonmacnoise had done, as Oxford was now doing for England, they turned it in upon itself. They concentrated the attention of each tribe on its own past, its own achievements against other tribes; they fostered tribalism, they brought in no new thought from the larger world.

Probably more was done for Ireland's advance in civilisation by the Anglo-Irish traders of Galway than by any Irish poet or historian of this time. An extraordinary example of public spirit was given by James Lynch FitzStephen, Mayor of Galway. He in 1493 made a voyage to Spain, in order to develop the best possible relations with the country where

Galway had most to gain. When returning home he proposed that, after the Irish fashion, his host's son should accompany him and be his guest for a while. In Galway, the young Spaniard excited the jealousy of Lynch's son, who feared him as a rival in love ; and the young Lynch stabbed his father's guest. Lynch FitzStephen at the head of a town-guard seized the murderer and as mayor passed sentence of death. A riot was raised in the town to deliver the prisoner ; Lynch FitzStephen forced his way through, and, since no other would or dare do it, hanged his son himself : then went back to his own house, and was never seen again outside its door. This was a conception of citizenship far in advance of his time—a sense of public duty and public zeal which could overmaster any tie of blood or affection. Traces of the same are to be found in Hugh Roe's dealings with his sons, but nowhere else in the annals of that century. Until perception of this larger interest grew more clear, there was no escape for Ireland from the curse of clannishness, no possible beginnings of an Irish unity.

On the whole, however, though the period of the English Pale saw little political development in Ireland, it was a period of advancing civilisation ; just as certainly as the sixteenth century was a period of destruction and ruin. Throughout the fifteenth century there was never a war of extermination ; there were few instances in which annexation was attempted either by Irish or English. There was little permanent occupation of another clan's country, and no attempt to make existence impossible for a rival people. War was predatory, but it confined itself to taking from the people of a district their cattle and their crops. Wars of the sixteenth century were made to drive out or destroy the people or take the land itself.

CHAPTER XVII

THE END OF THE KILDARES

During the last half-century of what may be called the Period of the Pale, the English power in Ireland, being exercised through the Earls of Kildare, provided, in a sense, government according to Irish ideas, and worked on the whole better than any which had previously been employed. But the principle that Ireland should be governed according to Irish or Anglo-Irish ideas was in no sense admitted by the English Government; it was only an expedient, and one which had grave inconveniences from their point of view.

The Earls of Kildare were always accused, and probably with some justice, of using the powers which they possessed when acting as Deputy to forward the interests of their own house. Moreover, Kildare's ascendancy meant Ormonde's eclipse, and jealousy prevented co-operation. Ormonde, for instance, took no part in the critical Battle of Knocktow. Throughout Henry VII.'s reign, the Earl of Ormonde being employed in England or abroad, the power of his house in Ireland was divided and weakened by internal strife. Kildare's enemy, Sir James Ormonde, the fifth Earl's illegitimate son, was recognised by most of the Butlers as their acting head; but Kildare gave all his support to the legitimate heir, Sir Piers Butler, who was married to Kildare's sister. Ultimately Sir James was slain by his rival in a skirmish; yet Sir Piers was too much of an Ormonde to work cordially with the Earl of Kildare, even when the Earl was his brother-in-law and his backer. His wife, Lady Margaret FitzGerald, whom the Irish called Magheen, seems to have been a greater power than her lord, and she kept the peace between the two houses, and was, moreover, a great builder and benefactress.

The English nobles and gentry of the Pale were very largely

bound by friendship and alliance to the Kildare interest. But with the strengthening of the English monarchy and the beginnings of a bureaucracy, the official class in Dublin also grew stronger, and Kildare's policy of working in with the Irish princes and Irish customs was detestable to this element, which, from opposition to the Geraldines, was always friendly to the Butlers. It was their influence which procured the impeachment and attainder of Kildare under the government of Poynings. Their attitude towards government according to Irish ideas may be judged from Poynings' Act. This laid down that no parliament should be held in Ireland until the king had been informed what measures it was proposed to pass in it and had sanctioned the holding of the parliament; and further, that no measure should be even proposed until the king and Privy Council in England had given permission under the Great Seal for its introduction.

Thus, so far from admitting that Ireland should be governed according to Irish ideas, the parliament of the Pale laid it down by law that the king should not merely have a power of veto on any measure submitted as an Act of the Irish Parliament, but should determine beforehand what the parliament might even attempt to consider and debate.

The same statute laid down that all laws passed up to that date in England should also hold good in Ireland. This annulled the Act passed by the Irish Parliament in 1450, which declared that Ireland should be bound only by the Acts of its own parliament. Henceforward till 1782, although there was an Irish Parliament, the English Parliament had the right, acknowledged by an express act of the Irish Parliament, to override all laws passed in Ireland. This right was conferred by a parliament representing only the English settlers, and it seems clear that it represented the deliberate policy of the people of the Pale. Later in history, it was used repeatedly to oppress the descendants of those who passed it, as well as the native Irish.

We have now to consider the history of Ireland in the last stages of rule by the Kildares, before the English power began to be entrusted to a purely official class.

Hugh Oge O'Donnell, who succeeded to Hugh Roe in 1505, the year after the Battle of Knocktow, carried on his father's policy. In 1507 he went into the Pale to renew his league with Earl Garrett. In 1509 Turlough, son of Kildare's sister,

became the O'Neill, and Hugh Oge henceforward did his best to unite Tyrone and Tyrconnell in support of Kildare : whereas Turlough's predecessor, Donnell O'Neill, had been hostile both to Hugh Oge and to Kildare. In 1510 the chief of Tyrconnell accompanied the Lord Deputy on a hosting into Munster. He saw the reduction of certain castles in Cork and Kerry ; then Kildare, with forces from Desmond and from the MacCarthys, as well as those from Tyrconnell, marched against Thomond. The O'Briens had been on the losing side at Knocktow, but the loss fell less heavy on Thomond than on Connaught ; and Turlough O'Brien had in 1507 undertaken the remarkable work of erecting a bridge across the Shannon, some three hundred yards long, half-way between Killaloe and Limerick, thus connecting Clare with the O'Brien possessions in County Limerick. Kildare with his muster marched on this bridge, crossed it, and broke it down behind him. But the Thomond clans fell on the great host as it was advancing to Limerick, and inflicted heavy losses. O'Donnell is said to have rendered great service in protecting the army's rear-guard. At this time Tyrconnell and Thomond were by far the two strongest Irish powers, and Tyrconnell's league with Kildare pushed the lords of Thomond into friendship with Ormonde.

In the same year Hugh Oge took the extraordinary step of leaving Ireland to make a pilgrimage to Rome. An Irish prince must have thought very long before he did the like. We may be sure that his errand was not to Rome only ; he stopped sixteen weeks in London going and as many more returning, and " received great honour and respect from the King Henry." During his absence, which lasted till 1512, his country had been attacked by O'Neill ; but on his return he promptly " hired fifteen hundred men in Tyrconnell, Fermanagh, and the province of Connaught " and proceeded to make war, not only on Tyrone but on MacWilliam of Clanricarde ; Kildare at the same time marched against those parts of Connaught which were not amenable to O'Donnell. Next year a notable thing happened. O'Donnell went by invitation to the Scottish Court, where he remained three months. " After having changed the king's resolution of coming to Ireland as he intended, Hugh Oge returned to Donegal." Probably Ulster wanted no repetition of the Bruce invasion ; at all events, while Kildare ruled, O'Donnell stood by him,

and he by O'Donnell. But this was certainly the last time when Gaelic Ireland's influence was thrown this way in international affairs.

When the great Earl died in 1513, his son Garrett Oge was appointed Deputy, and, like his father, proved a vigorous ruler, reducing Irish clans all round the Pale who were harrying the English settlements. The O'Tooles of Wicklow, the O'Mores of Leix, the O'Reillys of Brefny, the O'Carrolls of Ely in North Tipperary were all defeated by him ; in Ulster he captured Magennis, and, pushing up even into the country of his nephew, Turlough O'Neill, took and burned his castle of Dungannon. But the same influences which had opposed his father wrought against him ; and they had powerful support in England. Henry VIII. had come to the throne in 1509, and under him Wolsey, a minister of the new type, had gained enormous power, which he used to strengthen by all means the monarch who had lifted him from obscurity. From the standpoint of the monarchy, the Earls of Kildare were greater and more independent than subjects should be. In 1519 Kildare was called to London to answer charges of treason, which included treasonable correspondence with the Irish enemies. O'Donnell's opponents saw an occasion to crush Kildare's ally. Turlough O'Neill had been succeeded in the lordship of Tyrone by his brother Con Bacagh (the Lame), who played a considerable though not a glorious part in Irish history. He was promised support from Clanricarde and the allied power of Thomond ; many nobles of Connaught who had been tributary to O'Donnell joined him, and so did many even of Kildare's adherents, " from their attachment to the daughter of the Earl of Kildare," who was Con's mother. At the head of these forces and his own, O'Neill entered Tyrconnell from Connaught and ravaged the country from Ballyshannon eastward till he camped near Strabane by the hill of Knockavoe. O'Donnell coming up, determined on a night attack, killed nearly a thousand men and gathered great booty, with which his force dispersed ; but instantly recalling them, he marched to the relief of Sligo, then besieged by both the MacWilliams and their allies from Connaught and from Thomond. A parley was proposed, but before the terms could be concluded MacWilliam's host fled. This bloodless victory brought Hugh Oge even more prestige than his triumph over O'Neill.

In 1523, the year after these events, Kildare was restored

to power. When he was inaugurated as Deputy, his kinsman Con O'Neill bore the sword before him. After this the Deputy sided with the O'Neills, at least so far as to protect them against Hugh Oge ; but he made terms with O'Donnell, contracted gossipred with him—a tie which bound like kinship,—and used his endeavours in successive years to reconcile the northern princes. These efforts, though unavailing, were not approved by the king's counsellors, and were indeed contrary to the whole spirit of English policy as expressed in the law, which aimed at weakening, not strengthening, all that was native Irish. In 1527 Kildare was again accused. No competent substitute could be found, and Lord Delvin, who acted for a while, was actually captured by O'Conor Faly. Finally Kildare was ordered to return and act as adviser to the Englishman, Sir William Skeffington, who was then named Deputy. At the same time Wolsey, Kildare's bitter enemy, appointed John Alen to be Archbishop of Dublin—an office which under English rule was always political rather than ecclesiastical. Another Alen, Sir John, was Master of the Rolls ; and when in 1532 Skeffington was recalled and Kildare reinstated as Deputy, these men, with other officials in Dublin, continued to plot against the Geraldines. This envenomed pursuit of the man whom both the English of Ireland and the Irish themselves had come to regard as the king's natural representative, and as ruler in Ireland almost by hereditary right, was not solely due to Wolsey's policy of creating a central autocratic rule, which could not brook the existence of such a surviving feudal power. Kildare's kinsman, the Earl of Desmond, was even more outside control from the Crown than he, and from the time when Earl Thomas of Desmond was executed in Drogheda the Desmonds had been suspicious of English power and suspected by it. In 1523, there being war between England and France, Desmond entered into a correspondence with Francis I., proposing an invasion of Ireland. Francis sent over an envoy to report on the project ; and the English Government, hearing of this, summoned Desmond. But London was a walled town in which, above all others, the Earl James refused to appear : accordingly Kildare as Deputy was ordered to march south and arrest him. He marched, but Desmond avoided arrest, and at his trial in 1527 Kildare was charged with conniving at Desmond's escape. He rebutted all accusations then

successfully. But in 1528 Desmond was detected in correspondence with the Emperor Charles for an expedition from Spain. Suspicion of the Geraldine power was natural; and it must be admitted that Kildare, though a most effective ruler when in office, used his influence whenever out of office to make it impossible that anyone else should rule. The whole clan of Geraldines and their Irish allies were out to pillage, as soon as the Earl ceased to be Deputy. The Pale was at its smallest and the strictly English rule at its weakest, when the power of the Geraldines was at its highest point. Moreover, although the parliament which passed Poynings' Act had also re-enacted the statute of Kilkenny (excepting only the provision against speaking Irish, since the speaking of Irish had become almost universal), Kildare treated it as of no account. While Deputy he married one of his daughters to O'Conor Faly, another to O'Carroll of Ely; and he used all the power of the Crown to support these personal allies.

This led accidentally to his downfall. The castle of Birr had been taken from the O'Carroll who was Kildare's son-in-law; Kildare set out to retake it, and during the siege got a bullet wound which produced partial paralysis. "He never after enjoyed his limbs nor delivered his words in good plight," says the English historian who wrote in the sixteenth century.

Wolsey had fallen; but his successor, Thomas Cromwell, never ceased to work against Kildare. Moreover, chance added to the influence of Kildare's hereditary enemy. Ormonde was the near kinsman of Anne Boleyn's father; the strongest personal interest therefore prompted Ormonde to identify himself with those doctrines which favoured Anne Boleyn's cause and the royal divorce. From the first the house of Butler accepted the principle that the King of England was supreme head of the Church in his dominions. But Kildare and the rest of the Anglo-Irish lords, having no such family interest in the matter, were disinclined to the new theology. The contention between Rome and the King of England had grown acute even before Henry was publicly and formally excommunicated in March 1534. It was easy for Ormonde to persuade the king that Kildare with all his adherents would side with the Pope.

In February 1534 Kildare was again summoned to London to answer grave charges. He was still Deputy, and he appointed

for his Vice-Deputy his son Thomas, Lord Offaly, a young man of twenty-one, whom the Geraldines knew and loved under the name of Silken Thomas. In London Kildare was brought before the Council, but since his wound he was no longer the same man who had outfaced Wolsey and defeated his accuser by sheer force of personality. His speech was now slow and hesitating, and the hesitation was construed into conscious guilt. In early summer news reached Dublin that Skeffington, who had never forgiven Kildare for superseding him three years earlier, was reappointed Deputy. The enemies of the Geraldines, however, had too often seen the Geraldines return to power, and this time they wished to make an end. By a trick, a bogus letter was put into the hands of one of Kildare's adherents reporting—falsely—that Kildare had been "cut shorter, as his issue presently should be." The young Geraldine was urged by his retainers to find safety in rebellion. On June 11th, when the council was sitting in St Mary's Abbey, Silken Thomas rode in with a troop of horse, entered the chamber and flung down the sword of state.

"I received it with an oath and have used it to your benefit," he said; "I should stain my honour if I turned it to your annoyance. It hath indeed a pestilent edge, already bathed in the Geraldines' blood and newly whetted in hope of a further destruction. Now have I need of my own sword, which I dare trust. I am none of Henry's deputy, I am his foe."

The Archbishop of Armagh, then Lord Chancellor, pleaded gravely with the young chief. But Silken Thomas's retinue, who had no English, laughed at the old man, asked one another what he was preaching about; and O'Neylan, the Geraldine's bard, raised a chant recalling the glory of the Geraldines and urging action. Silken Thomas left the room defiantly and went to muster his adherents at Oxmantown Green, near where the Four Courts stand. There was no military force able to resist him; yet, on the other hand, neither did he feel strong enough to attack Dublin.

His first movement shows that a reality underlay the Government's apprehensions. He addressed a proposal to Lord James Butler, Ormonde's eldest son, offering to divide with him the sovereignty of Ireland. Butler answered with a profession of loyalty, saying he would rather die his enemy

than live his partner. Thereupon Silken Thomas made a demonstration against Dublin. While it was in progress, Archbishop Alen, the enemy of his father, tried to escape, but was captured and brought to Thomas, weeping and beseeching. Thomas answered roughly, "Away with the churl." His retainers, construing this order (so he said later) against his meaning, killed the old man.

Speed was everything for the rebel, and he persuaded the citizens of Dublin to stand neutral and let him enter the town to invest the Castle. But he lacked ordnance to reduce it, and meanwhile he in person led a raid into Kilkenny in which Con O'Neill, his cousin, joined him, and they defeated the Butlers' forces, though not decisively.

In Leinster all the Irish rose out for the Geraldine; the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles of Wicklow, MacMurrough further south, the O'Mores in Leix, and in the west O'Conor Faly, who was brother-in-law to Thomas. But O'Donnell did not rise. His policy of alliance with the English power had been confirmed in 1532, when Skeffington, as Lord-Deputy, formed a league with him and Maguire against Tyrone; and now, perhaps from the same policy, perhaps from hereditary opposition to O'Neill, he added nothing to Silken Thomas's strength or to the English power's difficulty.

The English power in England was now, however, very real, though slow to move; a strong force under Sir William Brereton reached Ireland in October, in time to save Dublin. Skeffington, as Lord-Deputy, came with it; but he could not lead himself, and would not allow Brereton to undertake any enterprise without him.

Silken Thomas ranged at will through the Pale and about it, hampered somewhat in his movements by the Butler forces. But in the long run he had no chance; powder, shot, and ordnance were now indispensable for success in war, and he could not supply himself. To import arms from the Continent was, however, possible. Just after his rising Desmond had renewed his correspondence with Charles V., and a league was projected which included Conor O'Brien, lord of Thomond. Silken Thomas addressed a request to O'Brien that he should procure him arms from abroad. But the Butlers had their Irish alliances as well as the Geraldines, and Donough O'Brien, son to Conor, was married to the Lady Eileen Butler—a tie which kept him fast to the English

interest. Donough's faction in Thomond was strong enough to prevent the O'Briens as a whole from giving help to the young Earl, as Silken Thomas should now be called, his father, Earl Garrett Oge, having died broken-hearted in prison.

Meanwhile the Deputy decided to attempt the main Geraldine castle at Maynooth, a place of such strength that all Ireland believed it impregnable. But a breach was made after several days' battery and the fort's own guns were silenced. Then Paris, captain of the garrison and foster-brother to the young Earl Con, laid a plan to sell the post and save himself. He sent out a letter proposing that the garrison should be allowed to capture a small cannon, after which in reward he would give them enough liquor to make all drunk. It was so done, the place taken, and all the garrison hanged : after this the pardon of Maynooth became a name for death by the gallows. It is said that Paris got his money paid down according to the bargain ; but Skeffington then hanged him also, saying no bargain had been made for his life. This, whether historical or not, was characteristic of most English action in Ireland for the rest of this century ; and it is related with approval by a contemporary English historian.

Allies dropped away from Kildare when the news of Maynooth's fall spread, and in July 1536 Lord Leonard Grey came over as Marshal of the Forces, a man of energy. O'Neill took the oath of allegiance, but made a treaty which recognised him as holding a sort of feudal semi-independence. The O'Mores and MacMurroughs submitted ; Kildare himself got shelter in Thomond, whence he prepared to sail for Spain, but was advised by O'Brien to carry on the fight with the help of his kindred, the O'Conors of Offaly. Finally they also broke and submitted : and Kildare made his submission to Lord Leonard Grey, perhaps hoping for protection, because Grey's sister had been the second wife of Earl Garrett Oge. There is dispute as to whether or no Thomas was promised his life : but it seems certain that the promise was made, from the recorded opinion of Norfolk, one of Henry's chief councillors, who advised that he should be executed, but not at once. He was accordingly left for some months in the Tower, half-naked and half-starved. In the meantime two of his uncles had been captured ; three others were invited to dine with the Lord-Deputy Grey, and came fearing nothing, since they had done their utmost to prevent Silken

Thomas from rebelling; but they too were sent to London, and in February 1537 the six adult Geraldines of Kildare were put to death. Yet this bloody business neither satisfied the desire to be done with "all the sect" of Kildare, nor did it dispose Ireland to submission. Earl Garrett had left sons by his second wife, Lady Elizabeth Grey, and hue and cry was made after the eldest, now twelve years old, who was living with his half-sister, Lady Mary O'Conor of Offaly, under the care of his tutor Thomas Leverous. When the elder FitzGeralds were seized by Grey, this boy was sick of smallpox; but it was thought a greater risk to leave him within reach of the Pale than to convey him in his fever across the Shannon, where in Thomond he found protection from Conor O'Brien.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE BEGINNING OF THE RELIGIOUS QUARREL

At the time of Silken Thomas's rebellion, the south-west of Ireland was even more completely independent of English power than the north-west. Desmond had been in open revolt since 1523, when he refused to come to London for trial. War against him was continued in an intermittent fashion, chiefly carried on by the Butlers, whose possessions in the south of Tipperary brought them into touch with Desmond's subjects, some of whom were disaffected to him. But the Earl was too strong to be seriously menaced except by the whole strength of the English power in Ireland ; and he was strong by sea as well as by land, having a trading fleet worked by Irish seamen in Irish bottoms. He was, moreover, in alliance with Thomond, and had married an O'Brien princess. His correspondence with Charles V. proves that his weakness lay in the lack of artillery. So far as numbers went, he claimed that he could put 10,000 men in the field, and the Emperor's envoy reported that his guard was admirably furnished with mail, and that his dominions seemed to be the best governed in Ireland.

But this Earl of Desmond died in 1529, and was succeeded by his uncle, Thomas, 12th Earl, who died in 1534, leaving a disputed succession. The Irish generally recognised Earl Thomas's brother, Sir John of Desmond, as Earl ; the legal claimant, James FitzMaurice, grandson to Earl Thomas, was a very young man who had been brought up in England.

After the surrender of Silken Thomas, the Government decided to get this matter of the Desmond succession settled and to reduce the south to submission. Lord James Butler was put in charge of a military expedition which was well received at Youghal, and also at Cork, where the young Earl, James FitzMaurice, met them. Butler was able to march

through Mallow and Kilmallock to Limerick. His brother-in-law, Donough O'Brien, who held a territory on the Limerick side of the Shannon, received him at Adare, and complained that, having married Butler's sister, he had quarrelled with his country, his father, and his friends in order to do the king service; and he claimed that he should be put in possession of Carrigogunnel Castle. On the other hand, Conor O'Brien, the ruling king, though he could not keep the English force out of Limerick, faced it on the Clare bank. He had, in 1534, been in direct correspondence with the Emperor, and was entirely determined not to submit. The English did not attempt the crossing. A few months later old Sir John of Desmond died, and Conor O'Brien immediately made alliance with his son, Sir James FitzJohn, who was proclaimed Earl in Munster with the general consent of both English and Irish in the province.

In 1536 the position stood thus. Skeffington had died, and Grey had returned as Deputy. It was a main object with the Crown to secure young Gerald FitzGerald of Kildare, who still found an asylum with Conor O'Brien. That prince refused to give up the fugitive; and he was solidly supported in this by his ally Sir James FitzJohn of Desmond. But the citizens of Cork and certain nobles in the east of Munster were supporting James FitzMaurice, the English claimant to the earldom; and Conor O'Brien himself had to count with the hostility of his son Donough, who made common cause with the Butlers. Moreover, Conor could not count on the usual support from Clanricarde, because Donough's mother was of the Clanricarde house.

Grey marched south to Cashel to enforce submission upon O'Brien and Sir James FitzJohn; he was joined by Butler with the forces of Ormonde, and they marched through County Limerick to reduce Carrigogunnel Castle for Donough O'Brien. It was yielded to them, and they proceeded from it to the task of reducing O'Brien's bridge. This was of timber, but each end of it, since Kildare broke it down, had been fortified by a castle of hewn limestone, built in the river; and four arches between this and the Limerick shore were broken down by the defenders. The building was so strong that artillery could not breach it, and Grey was forced to fill the gap with fascines of faggots across which his men succeeded in making their way. But after this exploit the soldiers

mutinied, for the excellent reason that they had got no pay. Grey, eager to push into Thomond, was obliged to content himself with breaking down the bridge; and afterwards battering flat the castle of Carrigogunnel, which had been seized from Donough O'Brien's warders.

Yet the display of strength had been sufficient to make Gerald FitzGerald's guardians anxious for his safety, and he was conveyed from O'Brien's country into Desmond's to the care of his aunt, Lady Eleanor, a daughter of the great Earl Garrett, who had been married to McCarthy Reagh, but was a widow. This lady's sole object was now to strengthen the league that protected the young Geraldine, and a chance offered itself. In 1537, just after the execution of Silken Thomas with the five other Geraldines, Hugh Oge O'Donnell died. He, during all these critical years, had been "a great stay upon O'Neill" and had relieved the British Government from anxiety about the north. Now his son, Manus O'Donnell, succeeded him, and he for a considerable period had been an exile from Tyrconnell, living with his brother-in-law, Con O'Neill. Manus's first action was naturally enough to conclude a close alliance with Tyrone, which linked him to the Geraldine interest. But, looking further afield, he saw that in the south Desmonds and O'Briens were united, and he therefore became a suitor for the hand of Lady Eleanor McCarthy, which promised him friendships in the south. She consented, on condition that her nephew came with her to Tyrconnell. With great secrecy she, the young Gerald, and his faithful Leverous made their way from the south of Cork. McCarthy Reagh took them to Earl FitzJohn of Desmond, who saw them across the Shannon into Thomond. O'Brien passed them to MacWilliam of Clanricarde, and he to MacWilliam of Mayo, who brought them safe through Lower Connaught and across the Erne to Donegal.

Two years followed in which Grey as Deputy was ceaselessly active in war at all points from the Pale outwards—everywhere successful. But his raids with small forces were like firing a rifle at midges; war sprang up everywhere behind him; and in the north the alliance of O'Neill and O'Donnell held. Three several times Grey called O'Neill to a parley on the edge of Ulster, bidding him bring the young Gerald under guarantee of safe conduct; each time O'Neill failed to keep the tryst, and each time Grey wrote to England

that if the boy had come there he would have kept him, alive or dead. In the meantime the league in favour of Gerald strengthened. Lady Eleanor's diplomacy contrived first to reconcile the endless feuds of the O'Conors in Connaught and make peace between them and Tyrconnell.

Another new and powerful influence was at work in support of this confederacy. Henry VIII.'s pretensions to supremacy of the Church were being pushed now with a vigour which stirred the Church to resist ; and priests and friars were busy all over the Gaelic regions preaching the duty of opposition to the heretic.

Finally, in July 1539, general war broke out. Desmond invaded Ormonde's palatinate of Tipperary ; in the north, O'Neill and O'Donnell, with a hosting from Ulster, Brefny, and northern Connaught, marched into the Pale and reached as far as Tara. But Grey, no common soldier, hastily raised what force he could, and with the citizens of Dublin and Drogheda fell on the northern Irish muster at Bellahoe, on the borders of Meath and Monaghan, and put them to utter rout.

This broke the league. The young Gerald, now a boy of fifteen, with Leverous, was smuggled out of Ireland by Lady Eleanor and got into Flanders, where he was treated everywhere as an exiled prince ; but none tried to restore him to Ireland. Grey was able to march all through Munster as far as to the Cork Blackwater ; but he could cross neither it nor the Shannon, nor could he establish peace ; and his enemies, among whom Ormonde was chief, accused him of deliberate treachery and intrigues with the Irish and the Geraldines. He was recalled to London, thrown into the Tower, and finally beheaded. His policy of overawing Ireland into submission by constant activity with a small, highly mobile force had failed ; and Henry had persistently refused to give him an army adequate to enforce lasting submission. A new policy then had to be devised, since the use of inadequate force only spread ruin, which was felt most sharply in the Pale.

On the other hand, Irish chiefs also felt that the state of perpetual war against this stronger power could not be maintained, because, even though the English military effort was ill-sustained and spasmodic, Ireland's native rulers were never capable of lasting union. Manus O'Donnell seems to have been the first to break away from the league which had been formed with the young Gerald as its centre. This was a

return to the policy which had been traditional in the O'Donnell house for more than fifty years, and was one under which Tyrconnell had flourished. The Four Masters, in recording the death of Manus's father, Hugh Oge, say that in his long reign the country was peaceable and settled, the seasons productive, each man's rights well established. He "did not suffer the power of the English to come into his country, for he formed a league of peace and friendship with the King of England when he saw that the Irish would not yield superiority to anyone among themselves, but that friends and blood relations contended together."

Proposals of submission came from Manus O'Donnell and from O'Neill in 1540, which indicated the acceptance of such terms as Grey had made with several of the lesser chiefs. They "agreed" (says Mr Wilson) "to acknowledge the king as their sovereign, to renounce the Bishop of Rome, to hold their lands by knight's service" (that is to say, on a tenure which the king could revoke on charge of treason or the like), "to assist the Deputy with money and soldiers, to wear the English dress, and generally to conform to the English manners." The king, on the other hand, guaranteed them their possessions. Grey had been beheaded for nothing but adopting this policy; but the new Deputy, St Leger, came over to carry it out with the king's assent.

St Leger at his coming showed that he possessed force; he spread fire and sword through Leinster, and obtained general submission. But a first example of the conciliation policy was given when Turlough O'Toole, head of the little clan in the Dublin mountains so much dreaded by the Pale, was offered knighthood and was sent over to London to be invested personally by the king. Peace was made with O'Donnell and O'Neill. In the south there was still war between James FitzMaurice, whom the English recognised as earl, and James FitzJohn, who had the support of Munster. But when FitzMaurice was killed by FitzJohn's brother, there remained only one claimant, and St Leger's Government proceeded to make terms, negotiating through Ormonde. Finally, in January 1541, FitzJohn, now recognised as Earl of Desmond, made his formal and full submission in the presence of MacWilliam, O'Conor, and other Irish lords to the number of two hundred.

MacWilliam of Clanricarde was next to fall in; he offered

to return to his allegiance, and asked for an earldom. He was told that he might have a viscounty at once ; but if he wanted an earldom he must come to London. In was part of Tudor statecraft to make the central and personal power of the monarch felt throughout his dominions. The submission of his allies, MacWilliam and Desmond, put O'Brien in a difficult pass ; and Murrough O'Brien, who in 1539 had succeeded to his brother Conor (the last independent King of Thomond), came into correspondence with the Government. In 1541 a parliament was held in Dublin by St Leger at which Desmond was present ; no Desmond had sat in an Irish parliament since that of 1470, which attainted Earl Thomas. MacGillapatrick sat as Baron of Upper Ossory ; Donough O'Brien, MacWilliam, MacMurrough, O'More, O'Reilly, and O'Neill of Clandeboye were present, but not entitled to sit. Ormonde translated into Irish the address of the Speaker, Sir Thomas Cusack, and the Chancellor's reply.

Neither Con O'Neill nor Manus O'Donnell was present ; but O'Donnell did not hesitate to support the new policy. The Lord-Deputy marched to meet him at Cavan, and was amazed by the richness of his crimson velvet array. His chaplain, who acted as his secretary, had been educated in France. Part of the treaty was that he should attend in person or by deputy at parliament ; another that he should send one of his sons to be educated in England. His pledge to give assistance in hostings was immediately carried out against Con Bacagh, who refused to surrender till a prolonged winter campaign faced him with the wholesale loss of cattle, which either starved in the woods or were captured in the open. It was not without difficulty that the party in the Government who desired peace prevailed upon Henry VIII. to admit O'Neill finally to such terms as O'Donnell had received ; and at last there was dispute over the title which should be his. He desired to be Earl of Ulster ; Henry would only admit him to be Earl of Tyrone. As such, he was solemnly invested with the sword by Henry in person in September 1542. The same ceremony was repeated in 1543 when MacWilliam became Earl of Clanricarde and Murrough O'Brien Earl of Thomond. But a difficulty had arisen about the O'Brien claim. If Murrough O'Brien died, his brother Donough, now tanist, would by Irish law become lord of Thomond. Yet by English law, if the Earl of Thomond died, all his estates

and dignities would pass to his son. Donough O'Brien had been steadily an English partisan, and arrangements were made to meet his case. It was stipulated that the earldom should go to Murrough for life, and after him to Donough for life ; Murrough was created also Baron of Inchiquin and Donough Baron of Ibrickan, each of these peerages passing to the peer's son.

Probably refusal to make a similar duplication of honours in such cases is the reason why other peerages which St Leger and Henry agreed to grant were not at this time conferred. O'Donnell desired to be Earl of Sligo, which would have recognised an old claim of the O'Donnells to hold what in truth belonged to the O'Conors ; Henry was only willing that he should be Earl of Tyrconnell, and prolonged dispute on this point may be the reason why the earldom was not conferred. But there was no similar reason why O'Rourke, O'Reilly, and O'Conor Faly should not have accepted the peerages which St Leger proposed for them. They probably were unable to accept, because nothing was provided for the tanist who in each of their territories would have had a claim to succeed. Thus, even as between the English monarchy and the independent or semi-independent Irish dynasties, this new settlement was by no means complete. But for the moment it operated. English rule was for the first time accepted by virtually, if not actually, all persons having authority by Irish law and custom. Ireland from the time of St Leger to the death of Henry VIII. had a breathing space. It was only the calm before the storm.

Possibly Henry's intention was really to assimilate Ireland to England. But the steps taken did not bring all the Irish people under English law and usage ; the effect was to make Englishmen of the chieftain class, while leaving the native population outside that law's protection, helots, not citizens. The bargain entered into with O'Neill, O'Brien, or any other of these princes might be satisfactory to the individual who renounced a precarious independence, secured the protection of English power for his personal claim to the chieftainship, which was seldom quite secure, and acquired for his personal heirs an entirely new right,—they must by English law succeed to his position ; but to acquire this the chief gave away the right of his people to select their ruler from among the members of the ruling family. Henceforward, succession

would be automatic. Naturally, the first protest came from those who might have succeeded to the chieftaincy, but were now passed over by the automatic operation of a law. Yet the real trouble lay far deeper. The ruler's bargain for himself did not protect his people. He bound himself as chief to enforce English law and usage within his territory : but that law made a hundred distinctions between the Irishman and the English subject, to the Irishman's detriment. The law which he undertook to administer was unjust to the Irish by this discrimination, and its most oppressive provisions had been re-enacted by the Parliament of the Pale in 1537, after the Geraldine rebellion.

For instance, the position of the trained and hereditary ollave poets and historians was never more fully recognised than in the sixteenth century. Manus O'Donnell in particular was a student and patron of Irish literature. The ollaves were well endowed, and it seems to have been the custom in return that they should keep " houses of general hospitality," which no doubt served as inns for travellers. Yet under the law which an Irish chief undertook to enforce, the profession of a " rhymer " was illegal ; the poet as such was an outlaw. Irish dress also was forbidden. Even admitting that no attempt would be made to enforce such ordinances as were designed for the Pale in purely Irish districts, a profound change was introduced when the chief's inheritance was determined by English law. That property in land which went with the office, now went to the individual ; it went from father to son. Further, the landowner by English law had powers which Irish law did not recognise. He might evict the man who farmed it. Mr Wilson says : " Henry's policy had created Irish landlordism " ; and this is true. Yet probably what was felt at first was that at every point adoption of the new order meant transferring the Irish subject from a system of law, the Brehon code, under which he and his ancestors had lived, with rights which they understood, to a system unfamiliar to him, by which he, as Irish, had an inferior status.

Behind this lay the beginning of a worse trouble. Religion, which from the first ought to have been a connecting link between the races, had unhappily been persistently made by the English Government a means of further division. It was a principle of administration that no native Irishman should

be promoted to any ecclesiastical office which an Englishman could be found to take. So long as the English sovereign was an adherent of Rome, the Papacy conformed to the English will in making choice of bishops. In the Irish regions, Irishmen were as matter of course provided; and in the borderland, governed by the great Anglo-Irish nobles, their personal influence probably was respected, as was the king's in the Pale. Desmond's support must have been constantly given to men of Irish race; but it was not so where Ormonde ruled. For more than two centuries after the Normans conquered it, no bishop was appointed to Kilkenny Cathedral who had an Irish name. Yet the great ecclesiastical foundations made by these Anglo-Irish lords were of service to the Irish population, and were doubtless centres of fusion. It is probable on the whole that in Ireland, up to the Reformation, religion was a force working against the policy of keeping the peoples separate.

From the reign of Henry VIII. onwards, the change began which was to be so disastrous for Ireland. In England the Reformation was largely a popular movement, based on a discontent that was felt down among the labouring classes; it was still more largely an outcome of the intellectual revolt which made one aspect of the Renascence of learning. In Ireland, neither of these forces operated. The ecclesiastical dignitaries were, it is true, lords territorial, and especially in the English Pale they were regarded far more as temporal rulers than spiritual guides. They maintained their bodies of armed men, like all other rulers in Ireland, at the cost of the ruled; but they appear to have been less aggressive and oppressive than the chiefs and princes who were not ecclesiastics, and consequently there was no special feeling against their wealth or power. In the purely Irish districts, termon lands, the Church property, were generally a place of sanctuary, affording a protection that in so disturbed a country must have been welcome. As to religious ministration, it is clear from many sources of evidence that the ordinary clergy throughout Ireland, in the Pale and outside it, had grown very slack. The real work of religion was, however, actively carried on by the monks and friars—especially by the Franciscans. Moreover, from what is omitted in the charges made against them by extreme Protestant pamphleteers and preachers, it appears that the personal morality of Irish monks

offered much less ground for attack than Reformers found in other parts of Europe.

Henry VIII. broke with Rome for two main reasons, of which the first was to aggrandise his personal power and shut out the Pope from all title to interfere in his dominions. He proposed to take full charge of the discipline and patronage of the Church : to make or unmake what dignitary he would in the spiritual as in the temporal sphere. But this supremacy of the king meant something quite different in Ireland from its effect in England. In England it meant that bishops for England should be chosen in England, not at Rome. But in Ireland, since Henry had secured the submission of all Irish princes, and his claim of supremacy in matters ecclesiastical was formally admitted by them all, he now had the right to control ecclesiastical preferment all over Ireland ; and it was his policy to use the Church as a means of anglicisation. In the most thoroughly Irish sees Henry was to have the appointment of the bishop, and would certainly not appoint an Irishman. Yet, on the whole, there is little evidence that Henry's challenge to the Papal right was actually resented by the Irish. The resistance which this challenge met in his reign and in that of Edward VI. came rather from English bishops in Ireland, who held themselves bound by their original vows.

A logical consequence of Henry's claim to supremacy was his formal assumption of the style King of Ireland. This repudiated that old pretence that the King of England was *dominus Hiberniæ*, lord of Ireland, by a sort of feudal grant from the Pope. The Irish chiefs and princes had no doubt always considered the English king's claim as resting on his command of force. If they had been willing to accept his supremacy, it was assuredly from no devotion to the Pope, but from a sense that a strong overlord might bring peace and settlement. Nevertheless, the sense that England's claim to rule in Ireland was fully accepted in Rome must have always increased the difficulty of organising a united resistance ; and now that England and Rome were definitely at strife, resistance began to assume the aspect of a duty. In 1542 emissaries from the Jesuits undertook a mission to Ireland, with directions laid down by the founder, Loyola himself. Their special mission was to Con O'Neill, who, before his final submission, had been in correspondence with the Pope and also with the Scottish Court, seeking help from any quarter. The

Jesuits at this their first visit found the effect of St Leger's recent measures too strong to be resisted. No chief would give them shelter, and they stayed only a few weeks in Ireland. But, picked men of passionate devotion, as were all of Loyola's first band, they put a stir of life into a Church which had grown lethargic. Thus at the very moment when the representatives of the old Irish kingdoms had agreed to resign their claims, a new force appeared, which was not national but European. It used the spirit of national resistance, growing out of hereditary pride and attachment to a traditional culture and system of law; it fed the fierce and inevitable sense of injustice. Later, the resistance of Catholicism to what Catholicism considered heresy, which spread all over Europe, was utilised in Ireland by men who were really champions of the purely national right; and thus the cause of Irish nationality and of the Catholic religion became inextricably blended and confused.

From the Pope's breach with Henry VIII. dates the beginning of what has now become so normal that we hardly think about it—the double manning of Irish sees. Dowdall, the Archbishop of Armagh, was, according to custom, an Englishman, though that country was almost entirely Irish in speech and in rule. He accepted the supremacy of the king in the Church; and on this ground the Pope, regarding him as heretical, appointed another man, Wauchop of St Andrews. This very remarkable person, almost blind, but reputed to ride post better than any man in Europe, was of tireless energy, and did much to rouse the Irish chiefs in resistance alike to English doctrine and English rule. He and the Jesuit emissaries alone put passion into the new contest; at the first approach of the Reformation, in Ireland there was activity neither in attack nor in resistance. Reformation doctrines were never seriously preached in Ireland as doctrine, apart from the question of the king's supremacy. One bishop, Bale, a vehement partisan with considerable gifts of rhetoric, made himself conspicuous in Kilkenny; but it is evident that he found no congenial soil to work on. Religious changes were commended solely by political considerations, and they did not go deep. Nobody before Elizabeth's reign seriously tried to abolish the Mass, and when Mary came to the throne there was no persecution of Protestants in Ireland, because there was no one to persecute. The doctrine of personal

supremacy in all ecclesiastical patronage Queen Mary maintained in practice exactly as her father had left it. She was a Tudor rather than a Papist.

Henry's second object in his Church policy was, nakedly, plunder; and it was carried out in Ireland exactly as in England, though with less profit to the Crown. Unlike the claim to supremacy, it made no trouble for the English rule in Ireland; there was no resistance in Ireland to the suppression and confiscation of the monasteries. The work was carried out by Catholics for their own profit. In the Pale, and still more in Ormonde's vast territory, and in Kildare's and in part of Desmond's, the effect was to suppress institutions of great value to the Irish population, including many of the best centres of education, and to abolish centres of friendly contact and fusion between Irish and English.

This enrichment of individuals at the expense of the public interest, as well as of religion, did not at this time go on in the regions under native Irish rule. O'Neill, O'Donnell, and O'Brien protected the monasteries; and in this respect, as in many others, the Pale had good reason to envy the less anglicised parts of Ireland.

CHAPTER XIX

THE FIRST PLANTATION AND SHANE O'NEILL

Sir Anthony St Leger, who as Lord-Deputy carried out the policy of inducing Irish chieftains to accept the status of English nobles, achieved at least one extraordinary result; he won the confidence of the Irish. Like every ruler who did not estrange himself from the Geraldines, he was attacked by the Butlers and by the party in Dublin always opposed to any concession to the Irish. When St Leger had to return to London to defend his actions, a letter was written in 1546 by the Earl of Desmond, jointly with the new Earls of Tyrone and of Thomond, with FitzPatrick, now Baron of Ossory, and also with O'Conor Faly and O'Carroll of Ely. These men, addressing themselves to King Henry as his loyal subjects, testified to the worth of St Leger: they had found him just, sincere, and good-natured; and the oldest man in Ireland, they said, had not seen the country so peaceful as under his rule.

But his rule was not suffered to last. The chief persons under him in the Irish Government did not support his policy willingly; and in his absence they contrived to pick a quarrel with O'Conor Faly, whose wife was of the house of Kildare. War broke out again on the western border of the Pale, and continued till both O'Conor and O'More, heads of the principal border clans, were driven out of their territory.

This country of Leix and Offaly was now to become the ground on which a wholly new development in Irish history should manifest itself. Henry VIII. had aimed generally at bringing the whole of Ireland directly under his rule, and extending English law to all parts of it. He took no account of Irish law or Irish national tradition; but he neither proposed to dispossess nor exterminate the native Irish. St Leger, closely in touch with the problem, saw that to bring about unity of rule he must work through the Irish chiefs, who again

must work mainly through Irish law. In the matter of religion St Leger desired, as probably Henry did also, to disturb nothing beyond asserting for the king the right to make and unmake bishops.

But when Henry died the English faction which came into power with the boy king Edward VI.'s succession was actively Protestant. St Leger was recalled, and was replaced by Sir Edward Bellingham, an able, honest, and most active soldier, who insisted that his army, like a disciplined force, should pay fairly for whatever it needed—a principle which had seldom indeed been observed by English forces in Ireland, always kept short of their pay. But Bellingham was a Protestant of the type which was to set its mark in blood and fire on Ireland. Such men turned to the Bible, and, interpreting it for themselves, found ample precedent in the Old Testament for savage dealing. It was natural to assume that their own people stood in the place of the Israelites, and the Irish, especially when there was a contest for land, in the place of the Hivites, Hittites, and Amalekites. In 1548, when O'Conor and O'More renewed the war for the territory from which they had been expelled, Bellingham inflicted tremendous slaughter on them. "Such was the great goodness of God," he wrote to the Council, "to deliver them into our hands." O'Conor and O'More were taken and sent to the Tower. Yet if by this and a series of other punitive expeditions Bellingham made the king's power felt, he failed to establish any belief in the king's justice. War sprang up in all quarters. The Irish princes began to look for foreign help; they could count on the desire of all Catholic monarchies to make trouble for the great Protestant power.

St Leger, recalled to government after Bellingham's failure was recognised, refused to interfere actively with the religion of Ireland; but the attempt was made under his successor. By a simple exercise of royal authority the Mass was forbidden, and the use of the Anglican liturgy ordered. No parliament was called to give even a semblance of popular sanction. Indeed this would have been a vain pretence, for there had been no effort to argue with or convert the Irish. The few Protestant divines who entered on the controversy in Ireland did not know the Irish language. Under Edward VI. enough was done in this respect to alienate the Anglo-Irish; but in the districts under native rule, Irishmen were

probably not even aware of the order to change their religion at the king's bidding.

Further, Edward VI.'s Government was weakened and discredited by the introduction of a debased currency, very much inferior to that in use in England. Here, again, the effect was chiefly felt by the Anglo-Irish, to whom Government had to make payments. Relatively speaking, native Ireland was much less affected, because it depended less on English coin.

Then followed the accession of Queen Mary and the re-establishment of Catholicism. It is important to realise what this meant. There had been scarcely any interference with Catholic belief by propaganda, and no general persecution; though some ecclesiastics who would not conform had been superseded. These were now replaced by the authority of Mary, who in practice claimed the same supremacy as her father had exercised. The men whom she put back were such as Dowdall, Archbishop of Armagh—Englishmen, who made it a cardinal principle of policy that preferment in the Church should be limited to Englishmen; that religion should be used as an instrument of anglicisation. Dowdall indeed was not averse from the most extreme measures, and in a memorandum suggested as one possible course to expel or kill off all the Irish and settle the whole island with English. "And truly this is the most godly way of reformation," he wrote, "and most profitable and commodious, if it might be brought easily to pass." He, who was now the official head of the Catholic Church in Ireland, saw with regret that this expedient was not possible. Nevertheless Mary's reign was marked by a serious move in this desired direction towards replacing Irish by English inhabitants—the goal of all English policy in Ireland for the next hundred years. Catholic Queen Mary recognised no more rights of citizenship in the Catholic Irishman than did her sister Elizabeth. Nor did Mary restore to the Irish monastic orders any fragment of what had been taken from them.

The path to the new policy had been opened by Bellingham's wars immediately west of the Pale. In Leix and Offaly he had driven out the native rulers and planted garrisons, which were still there, and still plundering, because unpaid. Plantation was contemplated, but as a Government policy. But at this moment a body of influential persons in the Irish Government or connected with it offered to take over the

country of Leix, pay a rent to the Crown, and settle it with colonies of English farmers. Government accepted willingly this proposal of plantation by private enterprise. Since it willed the end, it welcomed any means to it. A number of leases were made out at a small rent, the lessee undertaking to keep himself and his retainers armed, and to allow no O'More or O'Conor to live on his lands. The work, however, went slowly, and in 1553 the O'Mores broke in and destroyed the garrisons.

Border wars of the most destructive and savage kind continued till, in 1556, when the Earl of Sussex was Lord Lieutenant, a scheme of plantation was finally agreed on. Leix and Offaly were to be divided into three parts. The third, which lay to the west, next the region of bog, forest, and mountain, was to be restored to the Irish, who were to choose a certain number of men from their own septs to hold their lands. No Irishman was to get more than two ploughlands. He was to accept English laws and customs; he was not to possess arms; he was not, on pain of forfeiture, to marry any Irishwoman whose family had not submitted and accepted their lands on the new conditions. The two thirds nearer to the Pale were reserved for English settlers, who might receive as much as three ploughlands. Each settler must keep one man of English birth for each ploughland, and that man must be an archer. All the settlers must have arms. No land must be sold or leased by them to any Irishman or Englishman born in Ireland. These were the essential principles of the settlement. The territory was made shire land, Leix becoming Queen's County and Offaly King's County. The compliment to Philip and Mary was emphasised by giving the name of Philipstown to the fort of Dangan and of Maryborough to Fort Protector. These became market towns and centres of the counties.

The plantation, however, was on paper only—though to some considerable extent the preliminary work of clearing it of Irish inhabitants was accomplished. When Elizabeth succeeded to the throne, no English were in Leix and Offaly except soldiers, a heavy charge on the Exchequer. Neither O'Conors nor O'Mores ever submitted. But the claims had been staked out, and the war of extermination lasted for over fifty years; by then the last O'Conor had been killed out, and the surviving O'Mores were deported into Kerry.

It need hardly be said that this was not the policy to which the Irish chiefs had assented when they agreed to hold their lands as subjects of Henry VIII. Brian O'Conor Faly, one of the ablest among them, had assented, and St Leger worked hard to get the viscounty for him which he was willing to accept. But the heads of the Anglo-Irish interest in Dublin were loth to come to terms with O'Conor. O'Neill, O'Donnell, and O'Brien were far off and strong people ; agreement might be made with them and even kept ; but the lands immediately adjoining the Pale were accessible and tempted cupidity.

Yet the outlying Irish princes were not likely to believe that they and theirs would for long escape the fate which they saw falling on Leix and Offaly. The idea of settling down peacefully under the rule of a strong monarchy had manifest attractions, alike for the Irish rulers and their people ; and during the life of those with whom St Leger made his bargain there was a comparative tranquillity. It lessened, as has been seen, after the death of Henry and the recall of St Leger ; but trouble did not become acute until Irish tribes realised all that the bargain implied. Then in each of the three new Gaelic earldoms strife broke out.

It mattered little to those over whom Ulick Burke ruled as MacWilliam Uachtar whether he assumed the style of Earl of Clanricarde or no. But when he died in 1546, leaving a son sixteen years old, the people of Clanricarde immediately, according to old custom, chose the leading man of the late ruler's kin to succeed him, ignoring or being ignorant of the fact that the earldom with all its authority passed to the boy. St Leger, who was still in power, staved off trouble by agreeing that the elected successor should govern till the young earl reached the age of twenty-three. It so chanced that the ruling Burke (another Ulick) died in the year when Earl Richard attained his majority, and it was thus comparatively easy for the English Government to establish Richard in power. Yet even so there was war between him and other claimants with their factions. In the case of Thomond the difficulty was much greater. Murrough, " Earl of Thomond by the English and the king, but O'Brien according to the custom of the Irish," died in 1551. St Leger's bargain had been that his nephew Donough should succeed to the earldom, instead of Murrough's personal heir. But Donough's action

in constantly taking part with the English against his father and uncle had made him unpopular; and Thomond now desired to choose for its ruler Donough's half-brother Donnell. Donnell's mother, second wife to Conor, the last King of Thomond, was a Desmond, and this gave Donnell the Geraldine alliance. Donough O'Brien had the support of the English Government, of Ormonde, who was his brother-in-law, and of Earl Richard of Clanricarde, who naturally sympathised with a claim similar to that which supported his own title. Yet the local feeling was so strong that for many years Donnell was the ruler of Thomond, holding his own against this powerful combination. In this case chance went against the English, for Donough died shortly after Donnell had driven him from his seat at Clonroad, near Ennis; and the earldom, with its claim to leadership of Thomond, passed under English law to Donough's son Conor, who by Irish custom would have had no chance to be chosen for the lordship against his seniors in the same family-group. For many years Thomond, under Donnell's rule, defied the English power; but ultimately Conor was installed, and the house of O'Brien became a support rather than a menace to English rule.

In the northern earldom the story is very different. Here St Leger's settlement had indeed unsettled everything; but the blame rests with Con O'Neill, who, in accepting the earldom for himself, covenanted that his illegitimate son Matthew should be named as his successor and should get the title of Baron of Dungannon. In a sense this was a concession to Irish usage, for Matthew was a hardy, able man and much older than Con's legitimate son Shane, who, at the time of the treaty, was a dull, awkward boy. But the boy grew up into a formidable and ambitious youth, who challenged his elder's right absolutely, declaring that Matthew, son of a smith's wife in Dundalk, was no child of Con's, but should be called Kelly after his mother's husband. The old Earl Con finally fell in with Shane's claim, and the younger son was put at the head of a large tract of country, from which he made war on Matthew. Finally, in 1558, the Baron of Dungannon was killed while campaigning against Shane; and next year Con Bacagh died. Shane was immediately chosen O'Neill by the people of Tyrone. But Matthew had left two sons, Brian and Hugh; and the title of Earl and the

claim to headship legally descended to Brian. The English Government must either abandon the principle of hereditary succession according to English law, or impose a youth as chief upon a strong people, ousting a very able ruler chosen according to that people's traditional law and custom.

Thus when Elizabeth succeeded to the throne in 1559 she found the principle of the Irish settlement which her father had imposed challenged violently in the south and the north. Sussex in 1558 had succeeded in expelling Donnell O'Brien and setting up Donough's son Conor—"the first Earl by succession, not by inauguration," say the Four Masters; and they describe how all the descendants of Heber and Heremon—that is, the nobility of Ireland north and south—were "alarmed at this change." It took years of fighting to maintain Conor; yet England's power was much more fully established in the south. In the north, as always, the real check on Tyrone did not come from Dublin. The feud with Tyrconnell was never more bitter than in Shane O'Neill's time. Manus O'Donnell, the actual lord, was now very old, and his son Calvagh had virtually deposed him; and the country was in consequence weakened by dissension. Yet in 1557, when Shane O'Neill drew a great muster from Tyrone and from Oriel and marched into the fertile parts of Tyrconnell between the rivers Finn and Mourne, Calvagh took advice of his father, who counselled waiting for the chance of a surprise attack. O'Neill was therefore allowed to move across the Finn and through what is still called the Lagan, till he and his forces encamped in the valley by the upper end of Lough Swilly. Calvagh sent by night two spies into the camp who mixed with O'Neill's troops and saw the great central fire flaming at the entrance to O'Neill's tent, with a guard of sixty Irish axemen and sixty Scots with broadswords keeping watch over O'Neill. The spies got their share like the rest when rations were distributed, and went back with this for a proof that they had really entered the camp. Thereupon Calvagh ordered a night attack, which was so successful that Shane had to fly from his tent and escape almost alone through the rainy night, leaving vast booty to the Kinel Connell. This was in 1557. Shane, more astute than valiant in battle, bided his time, and two years later word reached him that Calvagh's forces, under his son, were engaged in trying to capture a rebellious O'Donnell who held the crannog in Lough

Veagh. Calvagh himself was at Killydonnell Abbey, near Fort Stewart, on the eastern arm of Lough Swilly. O'Neill by a sudden movement, probably crossing the Swilly in boats, surprised the monastery, and carried off Calvagh and also his wife, who may probably have been a principal in the plot, for she lived for years with Shane as his mistress and bore him children, while Calvagh was in fetters.

This stroke left Tyrconnell without a head, for Manus O'Donnell was infirm, "so that there was no one ruling Kinel Connell at this time," and no power in it able to avenge Calvagh. The Lord Lieutenant, Sussex, however, attempted to rescue his ally, and marched with a great force to Armagh. But Shane carried Calvagh off, and had his prisoner shifted "from one island and islet to another," while Sussex, finding himself unable to reach Shane's main body, detached a thousand men to plunder Oriel. This force was attacked by Shane and driven back without the plunder it had collected. Sussex, finding supplies fail him, had no choice but to return home, and leave Calvagh to be ransomed by his own people.

O'Neill then assumed the sovereign command from Drogheda to the Erne, so that, as the Four Masters say, "but for the opposition of the English he might have been properly styled the provincial king of all Ulster," as it was when Ulster was one of the Four Fifths of Ireland.

Yet there was a new element of which both Shane and the English had to take account. For three centuries the Scottish Gaels had been supplying Ireland with mercenary soldiers, mostly drawn from Argyll and the Isles. These western Scottish territories, which were strongly settled by the Danes, became about 1150 one independent Norse kingdom, and remained practically independent till the end of the fifteenth century, though rulers and inhabitants had adopted Gaelic speech. In this loosely knit kingdom the family of the MacDonnells became predominant. About 1400 one of them married Margaret Bisset, heiress of a Norman family, who in John de Courcy's day acquired the Glens of Antrim, but had become as Irish as the de Burghs. In 1499, when James IV. of Scotland captured and hanged Eóin MacDonnell, King of the Hebrides, with his son and two grandsons, the kingdom of the Hebrides ended, and the inheritance of the MacDonnells in Scotland was confiscated. But their lands in the Glens of Antrim were out of reach of James IV., and

Alasdair MacDonnell, who escaped the gallows by flight, remained lord of the Glens. His son, Sorley Boy,[1] was contemporary with Shane O'Neill.

Exiled from Scotland, the MacDonnells pushed their fortunes in Ireland rapidly during the sixteenth century. By 1542 it was said there were two or three thousand of the "Red Shanks," as Ireland called these kilted men, settled along the Irish coast, where they had acquired various castles. In Mary's reign they were said to number 7000. They had driven the McQuillins out of the Route, or the northern coast of Antrim; they had overrun Clandeboye, so long held by a branch of the O'Neills. They attacked Carrickfergus, they raided into the rich districts of Lecale in County Down and levied blackrent. Shane O'Neill had more cause to fear the Scots than his border foes in Tyrconnell, and before his definite breach with the English power he joined Sussex in an expedition against them. But it was no more effective than Sussex's later inroads into Shane's own country. The MacDonnells were a fierce, aggressive, and growing power, scarcely less formidable in the early years of Elizabeth than Shane himself. The two, however, could be relied upon not to combine.

Shane O'Neill, indeed, had few willing allies, and when Calvagh O'Donnell, having secured his liberty by payment of ransom, called on Sussex for assistance, an extraordinary levy took the field against Tyrone, including five Irish earls.

For in Mary's reign a great act of restitution had been accomplished. Gerald FitzGerald, after his escape from Donegal to the Continent, had lived like a prince in exile at European Courts. His chief protector had been Cardinal Pole, and Pole was now Mary's friend and chief adviser. The Geraldine, now an accomplished young soldier, with the traditional beauty of his house, came to the English Court under an assumed name, that was meant to deceive nobody. He was taken into favour, and finally restored to his title and estates. In 1553 he returned to Ireland. In that same year there returned also Thomas, Earl of Ormonde, who had been brought up at the English Court, on terms of friendship

[1] "Boy" in Elizabethan papers represents the Irish *buidhe* (yellow), sounded as *bwee*. It is certain that the Elizabethans pronounced the word "boy" with more of the "y" sound than we do. Irish brogue is nearer Shakespearian than Tennysonian pronunciation.

with his cousin, Henry's daughter Elizabeth, who knew him as " Black Tom."

These two, along with Garrett, Earl of Desmond, who had recently succeeded to the title, Richard, Earl of Clanricarde, and Conor, Earl of Thomond, accompanied Sussex on his hosting against O'Neill. They marched through the country as far as Lough Foyle, thence through Tyrconnell, and handed over the border castles to Calvagh O'Donnell. But in the main purpose of the expedition, which was to reduce Shane, Sussex and his five assistant earls had effected nothing.

It was not the only means attempted. Between these two expeditions Sussex wrote to Elizabeth telling her how he had bribed a servant of Shane's to murder his master. The plan, however, miscarried, and Shane became aware of it. It was not more treacherous than many other expedients resorted to by Elizabeth's representatives in Ireland. War and assassination failing, the Government fell back on diplomacy. Kildare was to treat, having full powers. He reverted to St Leger's policy, and Shane agreed that he would come and make personal submission provided that he were guaranteed peaceful possession of his territory. He declined to take the word of Sussex for anything, and insisted that his safe-conduct should be signed by the five Irish earls, and that both Kildare and Ormonde should accompany him to London ; also that a large sum of money should be given for his expenses.

Kildare was blamed for having made terms so lenient, but they were fulfilled ; yet Sussex advised that his escort should put Shane in handcuffs—as, it seems, was done. Nevertheless, when he came to Court, attended by his gallo-glasses, whom he very wisely left garbed in their native costume, with long glibs of hair and great leather mantles, a great sensation was produced. His submission, recited in Irish, was very complete, and there is no doubt that he found considerable favour with Elizabeth, before whom he stated his case by interpreter. Sussex was called to London to reply, and instructions were given that meanwhile Brian, son to Matthew, Baron of Dungannon, should be supported in every possible way.

Shane, probably aware of this intrigue, demanded that, once his submission made, he should be allowed to return, as his country needed his control. But leave to return was refused, though he was encouraged to mix freely with the

life and the sports of the Court, and was on friendly terms with Dudley, Elizabeth's favourite of that moment. Then news reached London that the young Baron of Dungannon had been murdered. Shane, detained in London, could not be held responsible, and Elizabeth at last decided to let him go. Meanwhile, Brian's younger brother Hugh, who had escaped slaughter, was fetched to England to be educated there. This was the future Tyrone, destined to be more formidable to the English power than even was Shane O'Neill.

In May 1562 Elizabeth allowed her unwilling guest to return. He had no intention of keeping the conditions which had been extorted from him, and, once back in Tyrone, he defied Sussex, who renewed useless expeditions, and, in 1563, the attempt to murder. Poison was given to Shane and his company by one John Smyth, but they escaped with a severe sickness. Government now parleyed with the rebel, who grew daily stronger and claimed no less than all Ulster. There was no disputing his power. He made war upon the MacDonnells persistently; the Government had done the same without effect. Shane brought them to battle at Glenshesk, near Ballycastle, slew four hundred, and captured their chief, James, who died of his wounds in captivity, and also Sorley Boy, lord of Dunluce Castle, near the Giant's Causeway. Dunluce submitted to Shane when its garrison learnt that Sorley would get no food till they did so.

Sussex was recalled, and, after a considerable interval, a far abler man, Sir Henry Sidney, father of the famous Philip, was sent as Deputy to Ireland, where he had previously served. But the Irish chief refused, not unnaturally, to meet the Deputy in any house or town. He would meet him at a bogside where he had a thousand men with him. Sidney wrote to London that he could not bring half so many men to any meeting.

Meanwhile Shane put his position plainly in reply to the proposal that he should be made an earl. They had made McCarthy More an earl. "A wise earl. I keep as good men as he. I will give place to none but my cousin of Kildare, for that he is of our house." He recited the breaches of faith with him. He had come in upon safe-conduct, been made a prisoner, and forced to agree to "such inconvenience against my honour and my profit as I would never perform while I live, and that made me make war. If it were to do again I

would do it, for my ancestors were Kings of Ulster. Ulster was theirs and shall be mine. And for O'Donnell, he shall never come into his country if I can keep him out of it, nor Bagenal into Newry, nor the Earl of Kildare into Dundrum and Lecale. They are mine! With this sword I won them, with this sword I will keep them."

These were big words to use. Sidney insisted with Elizabeth that he must have force—a competent land force and a naval expedition. In 1566 the Lord-Deputy moved north to Armagh. Shane, as usual, refused battle. But Sidney restored the O'Donnells to possession of their fortresses, and so put the usual bridle on Tyrone. He was, however, not content with this and sought to establish a real stronghold for the Queen between the two Irish powers. Derry was chosen, and a very competent commander, Randolph, left there to fortify the place with a garrison of 600. When Shane made the expected attempt to invade O'Donnell's country, Randolph routed him with heavy loss, but in the encounter was himself slain—the only casualty on the English side. Disease then thinned the troops, supplies were hard to procure, and the place was about to be evacuated, when an explosion in the powder magazine put an end to the first attempt to make an English town on the site of Columba's ancient monastery.

The O'Donnells now had to face Shane unaided. Their chief, Calvagh, who, after ransom had delivered him from his long and cruel imprisonment, made his way to Elizabeth's Court to ask redress in person, was grown old, and died suddenly while the fortification of Derry was just beginning. He was succeeded by his brother Hugh Dubh. In 1567 Shane advanced once more, and crossing from the valley of the Foyle to that of the Swilly, forded the water at Farsetmore, generally called the Thorn, about two miles on the seaward-side of Letterkenny. Hugh O'Donnell had only 400 to oppose his host, but they fought like men with their backs to the wall, and turned their opponents to flight. The tide had come up and the salt water estuary was no longer fordable. More than a thousand of O'Neill's men perished, by drowning or the sword. Shane himself fled, almost alone, as he had fled before from near the same place, but now he had nowhere to flee to; he had made too many enemies. By a desperate resolve he pushed for the camp of the MacDonnells, who had

landed in force at Cushendun, in the Glens of Antrim. They were commanded by Alastair Oge, brother to James MacDonnell, who had died Shane's prisoner four years earlier, and they were galloglasses that had come over to be employed by Sidney. Shane with only fifty horse came to them, bringing Sorley Boy MacDonnell, who was still his prisoner: some hope of gaining his life in exchange for Sorley's may have moved him. Shane was received as a guest, but there was a quarrel of men in their cups after dinner, and the MacDonnells dirked him to death. The captain of the English garrison at Carrickfergus contrived to get the head, which he sent to Sidney, who paid him 500 marks for the trophy. It made a ghastly garnishing to the walls of Dublin Castle for at least four years.

Shane O'Neill was a barbarian, cruel and tyrannous. All the details known about him illustrate his savagery. But he was an efficient barbarian. Sussex, his chief antagonist, was an inefficient villain. Elizabeth's first strong Irish opponent was defeated for her by better men than he, of Irish race, to whom he had given bitter occasion to hate him.

CHAPTER XX

THE CHARACTER OF ELIZABETH'S POLICY IN IRELAND

THE last thirty-five years of Elizabeth's reign are the decisive period in modern Ireland's tragic history. They made the Irish problem what it has been ever since. In those years the English people and their rulers deserved the name of greatness if it was ever applicable. Irish history helps us to realise what such greatness in one nation may mean to its neighbours.

On its Irish record of this period England by the general verdict of history stands condemned. But readers of history waste their time unless they understand where the condemnation falls, and why. Edmund Spenser the poet advocated the total extirpation of the native Irish. What were the influences that so warped and demoralised a nature which all his work shows to have been delicate, sensitive, humane, and honourable beyond the common run of men? Again, when we blame Elizabeth's policy, we must consider what she might have been reasonably expected to do, and what causes prevented her. We may admit that she was a detestable human being, perhaps all the more because of the charm which she undoubtedly could and did exercise. But she was not wantonly cruel, though the world of her day was callous about human suffering and bloodshed to a degree which seems incomprehensible to us even after the Great War.

Nobody in Ireland and England or Europe would have considered that Elizabeth and her Government should evacuate Ireland as a moral duty. To relinquish a possession held by the English crown for four centuries would have seemed a disgrace. The fact that withdrawal was actually put forward as a possible choice by certain of Elizabeth's representatives proves an advance in political morals. These advisers realised that a Government has no right to exist, and

exist disgracefully, unless it can maintain decent order and give protection to its subjects. From 1540 onwards England had abandoned the attitude of limiting its responsibility by the Pale. Everywhere in Ireland rulers were supposed to rule on behalf of the Queen ; she had, or claimed, responsible authority in all territories.

Why, then, was decent order not established under the supremacy of the English crown ? The reason certainly was not simply, nor even mainly, and perhaps not at all, any general refusal among the Irish to submit to that supremacy. Shane O'Neill challenged it with great success, but he got no support from Ireland as a whole. He was overthrown by the Gaels of Tyrconnell ; he was finished off by the Gaelic Scots, who did the work so willingly that they did not even collect the price set on his head. The defeat of Shane was a victory for Elizabeth ; but it was not regarded by the Irish as a defeat of Ireland.

After Shane's overthrow it would have been easy for Elizabeth to establish peace in the country by a genuine adherence to the policy adopted in the last years of her father's reign. This meant accepting the Irish rulers as her subjects, forcing them, if necessary, to accept her as their overlord, but protecting them within the limits of their recognised rights and keeping them strictly to those limits. To do this thoroughly would have meant the gradual abolition of war between Irish principalities and chieftaincies—the thing most needed in Ireland. Ireland was kept back behind the rest of Europe by the continuance of petty local wars. It would undoubtedly have meant also the gradual abolition of that system of rule by numerous petty personal sovereignties to which Ireland was accustomed and to which the claimants to princely power or chieftainship were strongly attached, though it may be doubted whether the attachment was equally great among the common people. There is a remarkable passage in the Annals of the Four Masters concerning Sir John Perrott, one of Elizabeth's ablest representatives, and probably her father's son :

" The President of the two provinces of Munster went to England in the following autumn (1573), after having reconciled and subdued the country, and having left such superintendents, counsellors, and captains of his own people to direct and govern it as were pleasing to his own mind. The departure of the

President was lamented by the poor, the widows, the feeble, and the unwarlike of the country."

Some interpret this as written in derision; it seems more probable that the chronicler meant it as praise. At all events, the most civilised Government is that under which the poor, the widows, the feeble, and the unwarlike feel themselves most nearly equal, by the law's protection, to the strong.

It is also certain that every nation in Europe found it necessary to rid itself of the Government by a number of petty sovereigns. What existed in Ireland was not the feudal order, since that involved at least the nominal recognition of an overlord by all the vassals, and power passed in theory by the will of the overlord. In Ireland the people at large had at least theoretically a hand in the choice of their ruler. But from the time of the Norman Conquest onwards the two systems existing side by side affected each other, and the common man or woman in Tyrone had little more power to settle who should be the O'Neill than the similar man or woman in Desmond to say who should be Earl. In both regions, the tiller of the soil was abominably oppressed and harassed; though scarcely quite so badly as the tiller of the soil within the English Pale.

The worst of these hardships cannot fairly be blamed merely on the multiplicity of rule. That multiplicity had existed before the Norman Conquest. But when the Normans began to extend their dispossession of native rulers by the maintenance of permanent fortresses, Ireland answered by a new expedient. "Better a castle of bones than a castle of stones," said an Irishman. The castle of bones was a permanent professional military force. These in the first instance were Scots galloglasses; later, Irish professional soldiers were raised also. These were raised at the discretion of the Irish ruler, but they had to be paid for by the people on whose behalf he enlisted them. To some extent this could be done by the plunder of those against whom they fought: war paid for war, though in the last resort Ireland paid for all the wars within Ireland, even if the stronger tribes succeeded in shifting their burden to the weaker. But also a tax, which came to be called bonnaght, was exacted: that is, buonaidheacht, the maintenance of buonies or standing soldiers. When one ruler had a standing force he was very apt to relieve his own people of the burden of bonnaght by plundering his neighbours

not so protected. So in the end every separate ruler, whether a petty Irish chief or some minor Anglo-Irish lord of a territory, had his own force and raised his own tribute for it. After the Bruce invasion, the Earl of Desmond, governing as Deputy, introduced a similar burden called coigne and livery upon the English subjects. All the imposts and contributions levied by any Irish ruler were levied also in the Pale. But whereas in the native Irish states the number of men's keep imposed on a farmer, and the number of days which they should be kept, was regulated by Brehon law, in the Pale no such legal limits existed. Moreover, the people of the Pale, besides contributing in direct taxes to the Crown, had often also to pay their share of blackrent to the Irish enemies. Shane O'Neill was able to boast to Elizabeth that many people had left the Pale and taken up their abode in his dominions, for the sake of the greater security and less burden. The fact does not appear to have been denied.

Three main causes prevented Elizabeth from achieving a peaceful settlement when the way to it lay open after Shane's defeat and death. The first was her parsimony. She would not spend enough money to maintain a force able to establish order when intervention was required, as it was certain to be, if the central power undertook the duty of repressing petty wars or rebellion against local rulers. She would not even provide what was necessary for the troops actually maintained, and in many cases they became the worst source of disorder, living by pillage. It was a short-sighted parsimony, because, as her servants in Ireland repeatedly urged on her, failure to spend a little in prevention of war involved spending much in making war, which was also ruinous to the country.

This parsimony was, however, connected with the second cause which hampered Elizabeth in carrying out the policy of Henry VIII. and St Leger. Her power was threatened everywhere ; she needed to husband all her resources. The special threat to her throne had causes which naturally led her to distrust the Irish. The country as a whole was traditionally Catholic ; and in Elizabeth's reign Ireland, which had never been reached by the Reformation as a spiritual force, was profoundly affected by the counter Reformation, which must be briefly described.

Even under Queen Mary, England had used the Catholic Church in Ireland as an instrument of secular policy for

strengthening English rule. All its rewards were kept for Englishmen and for those who would side with Englishmen as against Irishmen. A Church so used can never retain its spiritual character or its spiritual hold, and when the Reformation began Irish Catholicism had grown lethargic. But the situation was changed by the emissaries of the Jesuits—men picked by Loyola himself. When these new missionaries from Rome came, undertaking, in the cause of a religion which was no longer allied to the Government, to preach and teach without reward and at their deadly peril, Irishmen listened and were moved. They had now two forms of Christianity offered to them. About one, they knew only that it involved a breach with the recognised head of the Church and with all the tradition of the past; the long controversy which had preceded its introduction was never heard in Ireland; it seemed a strange alteration, supported only by the order of a Government which Irishmen had no reason either to love or trust. The ministers of this official religion were, as official documents admit, for the most part ignorant deputies of those who drew the emoluments and did not do the duty; while the more influential and learned were politicians rather than divines, and unable, if they desired it, to teach in the language of the country. The other religion used forms consecrated by all tradition; and it was now preached, as it had not been preached for centuries, by men whose lives were as hard and self-denying as had been those of the early Irish saints. It was not wonderful that Ireland should listen to the latter rather than to the former, even at the risk of war.

Yet from Elizabeth's point of view these zealous missionaries were agents of England's deadliest enemies. Elizabeth was entitled to think that she stood for England: perhaps no absolute ruler has ever had more devoted support. English Catholics served her: she could depend on them to be Englishmen first. But in Ireland she could have no such feeling. Rome as a world-power, acting chiefly through Spain, was set upon breaking England, also by this time a world-power and the chief champion of Protestantism. Ireland was a weak spot in England's equipment; an outlying possession which in this world-struggle found its sympathy against England. Spain had its counterpart in the Netherlands. Elizabeth supported Protestant war in the Netherlands, not from any love of the Dutch, but to weaken Spain. Spain

supported every movement of insurrection in Ireland from no love of the Irish but to weaken England. The Jesuits were in Ireland doing, somewhat belatedly, but with wonderful efficiency, the work which teachers of Reformation principles had done among the Dutch. As in the Netherlands, so in Ireland, religious persuasion allied itself with natural dislike for the rule of foreigners ; it strengthened and was strengthened by what we now call the national spirit.

Thus, from causes for which she could not be personally considered responsible, this very able ruler found Ireland hostile to her in a great question of European politics. This opposition was largely the result of England's bad rule and pernicious policy in the past. Its result was seen in wars which cost England much drain of treasure and much grave anxiety at a critical period ; but which for Ireland meant a fate as near total ruin as any country can incur, and the all but complete destruction of the old Gaelic nobility, with whom and through whom Henry and St Leger had sought to govern Ireland.

Yet the specially envenomed character of this war was less due to high politics of Europe than to the third cause which worked against appeasement. It was one of those periods of imperial expansion when all sense of right is lost. Spain's acquisitions in the New World had set the Old World mad with the greed of sudden gain. The policy of conquest by private venture, to be subsequently taken over by the State, was fully accepted. Elizabeth authorised its employment in Ireland, although it must be conquest carried on at the expense of those whom she claimed as her subjects and to whom she had guaranteed protection.

In such a case cupidity is always allied with idealism. The bloody work is done by adventurous and often noble persons who generally—and it happened so in Ireland—leave the profit to be reaped by other and later comers. The Irish wars and territorial conquest under Elizabeth were carried on by such men as Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and Sir Richard Grenville. One must recognise that these adventurers had not only the desire to enrich themselves but had a genuine cult of their Queen. Chivalry had a revival in this period, and they regarded themselves as her knights. The Pope as her chief enemy was the incarnation of evil. The Irish were viewed as quite outside the pale of chivalry,

and obligations admitted towards equal antagonists were not allowed in dealings with this so-called barbarous race.

The condemnation of Elizabeth's rule in Ireland rests on the fact that no attempt was made to maintain justice as between her subjects in Ireland and her English subjects. Gross injustice led to rebellion, and rebellion was followed by confiscation from which those benefited who had power to provoke rebellion. Plunder was covered by a plea that there had been disloyalty. The Queen, indeed, knew that her title to the throne could not command respect in the eyes of Catholics, since she was the child of a marriage which no consistent Catholic could recognise as valid; and thus the loyalty of every Catholic might reasonably be doubted. But Irishmen had no attachment to any rival claimant, and a very strong motive would have been needed to make men quarrel with so powerful a sovereign, if security of their simple rights had been afforded under that monarchy's protection. No such security existed for any Irish subject who was a Catholic, and Ireland was driven into war by a sense of insecurity, emphasised by many heinous examples of injustice. These must be separately illustrated before recounting the second and third of Elizabeth's chief Irish wars. They all belong to the period after the death of Shane O'Neill had concluded her first Irish war and had left her authority without serious menace in Ireland.

The countries of Leix and Offaly had been in frightful disturbance since the attempted plantation under Queen Mary. Under Elizabeth, a section of the O'Mores, headed by Rory Oge O'More, whom Englishmen called the Robin Hood of Ireland, were permanently in revolt, living as outlaws and freebooters rather than as inhabitants. In the course of these wars this class of people, wrecked by wars and destruction, came to exist all over Ireland and to be called Woodkerne. But another section of the O'More clan, under Murtough O'More, whom they accepted as chief, had made terms and were in alliance with the English. This pacified section, or rather its chief men, were in 1577 summoned by the local English authorities to assemble for a discussion of some proposal at the Rath of Mullaghmast. Soldiers were concealed near by who surrounded the place and butchered all assembled. The number of the victims is stated in one contemporary record at forty, in another at seventy-four. All were gentry

of the various septs in Leix. For this "horrible and abominable act of treachery," as the Four Masters call it, no punishment was inflicted, though the Government did not accept responsibility. Descendants of one of the two Englishmen under whose direction it was committed were great landowners in the district till our own times. It is safe to assume that the lands occupied by those who were murdered at Mullaghmast passed to their murderers.

Plunder was effected by other means than bloodshed. In 1569 Sir Richard Grenville was sheriff of Cork, and, as Mr Bagwell says, "made a practical beginning of colonisation by seizing lands to the west of Cork harbour." He, as the Queen's officer, in this way acquired for himself half a barony. Yet this was a petty operation compared with the enterprise of another Devon man, Sir Peter Carew, a soldier of fortune, who discovered parchments proving or suggesting his descent from Robert FitzStephen, leader of the first Norman band. Carew began by setting up a claim to the barony of Idrone, in County Carlow, most of which was occupied by the Kavanaghs, descendants of the Kings of Leinster. Even admitting that all this land had passed into Anglo-Norman ownership when Strongbow became Lord of Leinster, it had undoubtedly reverted to the Kavanaghs nearly two hundred years before this date. The Crown had made treaties confirming them in the lands, and had agreed that they should hold their lands of the Crown. Against Carew's claim, it should be remembered that Giraldus Cambrensis, kinsman and companion of Robert FitzStephen, declared that FitzStephen left no child. The constitution of the Court and its whole procedure gave the first illustration of a new process to supplement force. Forms of English law were to be used by the Crown to shake every title in Ireland which the Crown desired to attack. Now, by a decision of the Privy Council, Carew's claim was held to prevail against undisputed ownership of one hundred and seventy years: and the Kavanaghs were obliged to accept this unknown Englishman as their lord and pay him rent. But this was not all. Carew, by the same descent, was known to claim the immense grant in Cork made to FitzStephen. Irish and Anglo-Irish alike felt threatened. Moreover, part of Idrone had become a Butler possession; and a brother of Ormonde's, whose castle and lands were affected, now went into open revolt. More than the mere possession

of land was in question. Desmond and his brother Sir John had just been arrested, "for little or nothing," as even this hereditary enemy of the Desmonds said, and no man of Irish title could feel safe. "I do not make war against the Queen," said Sir Edmund Butler, "but against those that banish Ireland and mean conquest."

This was how war began in the south of Ireland. In the north the provocation was more definite and brutal.

After Shane O'Neill's death, Turlough Luineach O'Neill assumed the title of O'Neill without dispute in Tyrone. But Sir Brian MacPhelim O'Neill was chief of the O'Neills of Clandeboye. He had actually been leagued with O'Donnell against Shane; and in 1567 Sir Henry Sidney recommended him to Elizabeth, that he was "the man that heretofore hath most constantly stayed in your Majesty's party like a true subject." He remained in opposition to Turlough, and refused to accept that chief's opinion that Queen Elizabeth had determined to root out all the O'Neills, and that their sole chance lay in uniting with the Scots of Antrim.

What came of Sir Brian's fidelity began to be seen in 1571, when Sir Thomas Smith prepared to make a military settlement in the district of the Ards, on the lines of the colonies in Leix and Offaly. Smith's published advertisement of the scheme contained an undertaking also to suppress all rebels in Clandeboye, and to divide their lands among the adventurers, and to sell to no Irishman. Sir Brian immediately wrote to the Queen, pleading his services and begging that he might have from her a clear guarantee of his lands in Clandeboye. Elizabeth gave it. Nevertheless Smith, landing in Strangford Lough, proposed to seize all the church lands in Clandeboye. There was much talk in the camp of widespread conquest; Sir Brian answered it by an attack on the Ards, and later burnt Carrickfergus and drove Smith out of the country. Thus Elizabeth's ally had by injustice been converted into a rebel. Smith's failure at private conquest was now succeeded by a similar but vastly more important attempt. The Queen granted to her favourite, the Earl of Essex, the whole of County Antrim, with all fishery rights on the Bann and Lough Neagh, and all ecclesiastical revenues. Essex was given authority by martial law over all the Irish in the territory, who were Sir Brian's subjects; this included the right to make galley-slaves of those whom his courts-

martial should convict of treason. The Crown provided six hundred soldiers in support of the enterprise, and Essex found as many more. Elizabeth financed the venture. Confronted with this display of force, Sir Brian at first submitted; but, when five hundred Scots landed, he joined forces with them and Turlough Luineach, and together they baffled Essex by the same desultory tactics which the O'Neills had so often pursued.

Elizabeth supported her favourite through admitted failure and created him Governor of Ulster, in which capacity he formally received the submission of Sir Brian MacPhelim, and accepted him under the Queen's protection. War, however, continued against Turlough Luineach and the Scots; and Essex may have thought that Brian was plotting with them. But in 1574 he issued an invitation to Brian in friendship, which was accepted; a banqueting-room was prepared and turned into a shambles. Essex claimed to have put two hundred of Brian's people to the sword, "whereof forty his best horsemen." "Brian," say the Four Masters, "was afterwards sent to Dublin, together with his wife and brother, where they were cut in quarters. Such was the end of their feast. This unexpected massacre, this wicked and treacherous murder of the lord of the race of Hugh Boy O'Neill . . . was a sufficient cause and disgust of the English to the Irish."

Essex received no word of reprimand, and remained Governor of Ulster and one of Elizabeth's chief advisers on Irish policy. He, it should be remembered, was regarded as the very flower of chivalry at Elizabeth's court. It is not surprising that many in Ireland should have come to the conclusion that extermination of the native Irish ruling class was what Elizabeth intended.

CHAPTER XXI

THE DESMOND REBELLION

When the fourteenth Earl of Desmond died, in the last year of Mary's reign, the Four Masters say, "The loss of this good man was woeful to his country, for there was no need to watch cattle or close doors from Dunquin in Kerry to the green-bordered meeting of the three waters." He had kept peace, that is, through his wide territory from Ventry to the Waterford river. His son Garrett succeeded, and was, like his predecessors, a devout Catholic and very little of an Englishman. For these reasons he was naturally distrusted by Elizabeth, as was also his kinsman Kildare.

Kildare, though under suspicion, contrived to keep out of harm's way, but Desmond was of turbulent nature and constantly at war with Ormonde. He was fetched to England, reprimanded, and let go: trouble broke out afresh; and finally, when Desmond went to levy tribute from Sir Maurice Fitz-Gerald of the Decies in County Waterford, Sir Maurice appealed to Ormonde, who came down to his aid: a chance meeting brought on a serious encounter between the earls, in which Ormonde defeated and wounded Desmond, took him prisoner, and handed him over to the Lord-Deputy under charge of high treason for levying war. This encounter between armed forces under English nobles showed how much of the feudal ideas still prevailed in Ireland.

Again Desmond was brought to England and again enlarged. Sir Henry Sidney, then Lord-Deputy, was no partisan of Ormonde's, but he was vehemently opposed to the principle of these semi-independent feudal governments, and set himself to curb the power of their rulers. Desmond proving refractory, he arrested and sent him to London, appointing the earl's brother, Sir John, second man of the Desmonds, governor of the territory. But without Sidney's

knowledge Sir John was also made prisoner, and the two were committed to the Tower. Very shortly they were ready to make submission, surrendering all their lands to the Queen, and agreeing that the supreme authority in Munster should reside with a President and Council appointed by the Crown. This was Sidney's policy, and it was soon to be carried out.

But meanwhile James Fitzmaurice, the earl's cousin, had been adopted as leader by the Geraldines of Munster, who were furious at the arrest of their chiefs, which came at the very time when Sir Peter Carew was putting himself forward successfully as claimant to Munster territories, granted to FitzStephen nearly four centuries earlier. The same cause had made disaffection also in the rival house. Ormonde was in London, but his brothers were Irish clan leaders, like James Fitzmaurice: they levied war on their own account, and refused to obey Sidney's order to disband their following. Sir Edmund Butler refused to think of "riding up and down the country like a priest." He would travel like a chief with his tail of armed men. Meantime, with both Butlers and Geraldines in revolt, the MacCarthys also rose, and the Earl of Thomond joined them. But the soul of the league was James Fitzmaurice, who was not merely concerned with ownership of lands and preservation of tribal headships, but urged rebellion as a duty on them as Catholics, and promised help from Spain. Irish revolt became a religious war and an international question.

Ormonde's return to Ireland brought his brothers out of this combination into which they had only been drawn by transfer of their land to Carew under colour of law. The Butlers were attached to the semi-feudal, semi-Irish way of chieftainship; but they had no enthusiasm for the Catholic cause, no hostility to the Queen, and no liking for Spain.

The rest of the south, however, was in a blaze; and under James Fitzmaurice "the English and Irish of Munster," say the Four Masters, "entered into a unanimous and firm confederacy with him against the Queen's Parliament." But when Sir Henry Sidney marched down through Leinster into the south of Cork, the rebel leaguers threatened him with battle, yet did not give it. He traversed Desmond to Limerick, meeting everywhere the show of opposition but no resistance; and meantime the confederates were leaving

Fitzmaurice and coming in under protection and pardon. From Limerick Sidney forced his way through Thomond and into Connaught, where he set up the first president of a province, Sir Edward Fitton, with headquarters at Athlone. "No deputy of the King of Ireland had ever before made a more successful expedition with a like number of forces," say the Four Masters. Sidney was a fierce, hard-hitting man, but the Irish always recognised that he stood for ideas of justice and fair government.

Nevertheless, as usual, war broke out again, and Sidney employed Ormonde to deal with it in Thomond. The Earl of Thomond fled to France; and Ormonde, who was connected by blood with the O'Briens, used clemency when he found himself the master. Humphrey Gilbert, about the same time, crushed revolt in Desmond, heading and hanging wherever he went. The result of these two policies can be judged. The O'Briens' country henceforward took no active part against Elizabeth; whereas County Cork was up in arms again within a year, and in Connaught the new president Fitton, another great employer of the gallows, had to face a rising under the Mayo Burkes, who inflicted a severe check on Fitton and Clanricarde near Shrule. A year later Clanricarde's sons were in rebellion, and threatening the English up to the walls of Athlone. But Galway, like Cork, Youghal, and Waterford, took no part in revolt. The walled towns separated themselves from the country's movement, whose leaders were chiefly known to them as leviers of blackmail. Nevertheless, Cork complained that when the Earl of Desmond and Sir John were at liberty they kept good order in the country, which since their imprisonment had been reduced to anarchy.

Meanwhile, James Fitzmaurice was endeavouring to make good his promise of help from abroad. His main agent on the Continent was Fitzgibbon, the Papal Archbishop of Cashel, a Geraldine by blood: he was active both in Spain and at the Papal Court. Lord Thomond also acted as an envoy in France and got encouragement from the Catholic party of the Guises; while an amazing soldier of fortune, Stukeley, an English Catholic, proposed to raise a legion for Ireland, and was listened to both in Spain and Rome.

Yet Sir John Perrott, who had become President of Munster in 1571, pushed the war so hard that after two years

Fitzmaurice was brought to submission. It had already been decided to set the Earl of Desmond at liberty, after six years' confinement and much misery. Although carried to Dublin, the earl was detained there, largely on Perrott's advice. Then, however, Perrott was recalled; and Desmond, escaping from Dublin, was convoyed by Rory O'More and his outlaws through Kildare and Leix and so to Limerick; and all Munster rose again. Desmond, according to the Four Masters, "expelled the English hirelings and warders who had been in the fortresses and towns of the men of Munster, so that by the end of a month he had not left the proprietor of a single townland whom he did not subdue and bring under the control of his bonaght men [that is, his standing troops] and stewards. He ordered that the Church and the men of science should be restored to the possession of their privileges, and he re-established the religious orders in their own respective places according to the law of the Pope as was right." In a word, the English settlers of the new type were driven out and the ancient Irish order and culture re-established under an Anglo-Irish noble, who maintained his own local standing army and challenged England in the field.

Yet great efforts were used at this time to avert a new and general war. Desmond came to Dublin, on safe-conduct guaranteed by Essex and Kildare, and these two Earls were insistent with him. Ormonde joined them, as they rode south again, and added his pleading. Desmond refused to agree at first; but when operations began, by the reduction of one of his castles, he submitted. James Fitzmaurice, who had not received pardon, fled to the Continent; and Sidney, who had been for some years absent, was recalled to his last tenure of the Deputy's office, from 1575 to 1578. The account in the Four Masters indicates that the Irish were ready to give credit to a ruler whom they respected for all that went well under his rule; and it also shows plainly enough what sort of rule Ireland desired.

The new Lord-Justice, they say, "found Ireland a scene of warfare and intestine commotion. . . . He, however, established peace, friendship, and charity between the Kinel Connell and the Kinel Owen, and throughout every part of Ulster; and this Lord-Justice banished to England the Earl of Essex, who had invaded Ulster and acted treacherously towards Con, the son of Calvagh O'Donnell" (whom Essex

imprisoned after he had come in on safe-conduct), "and Brian, the son of Felim."

After this Sidney made a progress in winter through Meath and thence through the mountainous regions south of Dublin, and "reconciled with each other the English and Irish of East Munster and Meath and the O'Conors of Offaly." Afterwards he went south, visiting Waterford, Youghal, and Cork, and "suppressed countless numbers of rebels and beheaded great numbers of bad men in these districts as he passed along." After spending Christmas in Cork, the Lord-Justice, "a knight by title, nobleness, deed, and valour," went to Limerick, and the chiefs of Munster, both English and Irish, and the Dalcais went along with him in his train. On this occasion he established peace in the two provinces of Munster. More than this, he abolished four taxes. These were *coigny*, generally known as coigne and livery, by which an Irish chief was permitted to demand from his clansmen free quarters for a limited number of armed men on stated days in the year; *kernetty*, a tax on every ploughland for the maintenance of the lord's kerne or retainers; *bonaght bun*, the original tax for payment to standing troops; and *bonaght bar*, an extra power to billet men at free quarters.

Any rule that could clear Ireland of these complicated impositions for the maintenance of often undisciplined troops would certainly find support among the poor and the unwarlike, if nowhere else.

Sidney proceeded to Galway, where the principal men of Upper—that is, southern—Connaught came in, the Burkes of Clanricarde, the O'Flaherties of Connemara, and the O'Kellys of Hy Many in East Galway. He took away hostages, but on reaching Dublin "his heart was suddenly melted with kindness," and he let them go with the pledge that they would not enter their own territories. The Burkes broke the pledge, and Sidney was after them at once; he seized the Earl of Clanricarde and his town of Loughrea, and made war fiercely against the younger Burkes, "so that the whole territory was one scene of pillagings and conflicts." Edmund Burke of Mayo joined the earl's sons; "and the consequence to him was that the Lord-Justice took Castlebar from him and banished himself into Clanricarde." In the next year Thomond was transferred from Connaught to Munster, and Sir William Drury, the new President of Munster, imposed

taxes on it. There was resistance, and the Earl of Thomond went to Elizabeth in person. He "obtained a charter of his territory and towns, and nearly all the Church livings of Thomond, and also a general pardon for his people." But the taxes had to be paid, since the Government now took over the responsibility for maintaining peace. "This was the first tribute paid by the Dalcais," say the annalists.

On these lines the whole of Ireland might conceivably have been settled. No attempt was made to enforce the reformed religion in Munster and Connaught. The chiefs were bought off with the spoils of the Church, and from being petty sovereigns were transformed into great landlords. Law was to be administered through a sheriff appointed by the Crown. The country at large might gradually have been brought to accept the supremacy of England's sovereign no less willingly than it was accepted in the towns—which were certainly by this time, with the exception of Dublin, thoroughly Irish, and certainly not less civilised than the civilised parts of purely Gaelic Ireland.

But the two factors which combined to keep Ireland in turmoil still operated. Greed for Irish lands still existed among the English, and no one of Sidney's successors earned Sidney's repute for fair dealing. Secondly, and chiefly, the European complication made itself felt. Ireland was continually tempted into prolonging a hopeless struggle by the vision of European aid, which only came in driblets ; and each new spasm of revolt gave an opening to the confiscators, which again stimulated anew the impulse to revolt.

The beginning of this process was in 1579. James Fitzmaurice, a brave enthusiast, knew well what a Spanish expedition should be to give a real chance of success. Philip promised help on an adequate scale, but delayed it. Stukeley's strange levy designed for Ireland was diverted to Morocco ; and finally in despair Fitzmaurice scraped together three or four small vessels and landed with about 600 men and some 6000 muskets on the Kerry coast, where he believed that he could easily find men for his muskets. It is notable that he dared not venture near any town of importance, but made for Dingle in the extreme west. Thence he shifted to Smerwick and set to construct a fort at the place. Proclamations were sent out in English and in Latin, drawn up probably by the English Catholic divine Dr Sanders, the most active of several

ecclesiastics who accompanied the party. Two of them bore the standard at the landing ; it was a Catholic invasion.

The Earl of Desmond at first took no part for or against : "I dare not" waited upon "I would." Drury, now Lord-Deputy, had no sufficient force in hand to do anything, and he sent down a picked emissary to urge Desmond to stand fast. This was Henry Davells, an Englishman, long settled in Ireland and, it is said, much beloved and esteemed. He went to the Earl, and after leaving him proceeded to reconnoitre Smerwick. But he was followed by the earl's two brothers, Sir John and Sir James, who came to his lodging in Tralee and slew the old man in his bed. Desmond was now committed, though his brother Sir John took the leading part in raising troops. James Fitzmaurice, whom the Pope had appointed general of the expedition, left the army and tried to get across the Shannon. But near Castle Connell he was met by certain of the Burkes, who held land on that side, and in a skirmish fell by their hands. It is doubtful whether they consciously acted in the English interest.

So began a war, which lasted without decisive incident for four years : a guerilla warfare of wearing out the enemy, in which, as in all such wars, the country over which the operations were carried on suffered the last extremity of misery. Attempts were made through Ormonde to detach Desmond by promise of a pardon, but the terms which he asked for himself were too high ; he was finally proclaimed a traitor. The ruin of his house and his country began with his sacking and destruction of Youghal, the town which his forerunners had created. Each side devastated the country that the other might find no means to maintain troops : in all its unhappy experience Ireland had known no such systematic production of famine. Elizabeth, by sending adequate forces, might have shortened the agony, but she would not ; and the insurgents were constantly buoyed up by messages promising help from Spain. There were rumours, too, of an invasion of England, and in the Pale itself an Anglo-Irish noble, Lord Baltinglass, rose in the Catholic cause. This was the first sign of a new interest in Ireland, linking together Anglo-Irish and Gaels against the Protestant power. Kildare's support was hoped for, but Kildare wavered and took neither side. The Leinster insurgents in 1580 inflicted defeat on the new Deputy, Lord Grey, in a defile of Glenmalure, so

that insurrection spread north as well as south. O'Rourke of Brefny and Turlough Luineach O'Neill of Tyrone were up in arms. It is noteworthy that the one man in Ulster who at this juncture stood by the Government was Hugh O'Neill, Baron of Dungannon—of whom much more has to be told.

Then at last the Spaniards landed again at Smerwick. They disembarked with about six hundred men and arms for ten times the number; but out of the fort—called Fort del Oro, or Dunanoir—at Smerwick they did not stir. At last Grey came down to the attack with ordnance, and soon put the fort's guns out of action. The garrison surrendered—whether on promise of their lives or no, is disputed; the certain fact is that all were put to the sword, Raleigh being one of two officers in charge of the massacre.

Grey's action was not universally approved at the time, but it was far less inhuman than his conduct of the war. His problem was to exterminate a mobile band of guerillas; and in order to do it he deliberately laid waste the whole of Munster, so that there should be food for no one. Spenser, who was an actor in these proceedings, tells how Munster had been full of cows and cattle, yet after eighteen months of this war its people gathered together like crows to feed on carrion, or flocked to any plot of cress or sorrel that they chanced to find. In such a country the soldiers, if they got their rations, were the only ones fed; but Elizabeth left her troops short of food, and they were the worst plunderers of the people. Meanwhile Desmond and his men were carrying the same measure into Ormonde's country, since Ormonde had been a chief leader in the war against him; and the Four Masters say that, owing to Desmond's raids on Ormonde and the raids on Desmond, "the lowing of a cow or the voice of a ploughman could scarcely be heard from Dunquin in Kerry to Cashel in Munster."

Yet in the end it was Ormonde who made an end of Desmond, as the O'Donnells had made an end of Shane O'Neill. Desmond's brothers had been cut off in various skirmishes, first James and then Sir John; and the earl himself was penned by Ormonde, now Governor of Munster, into the north of Kerry and the adjacent mountains of Cork. In these he was hunted like a hare, till at last his men robbed one of the Moriartys between Dingle and Tralee. Moriarty raised his kindred and borrowed half a dozen soldiers from the

nearest garrison, and this party tracked the cattle-raiders to a hut at Glanageenty in the woods east of Tralee. Desmond came out to meet them. "I am the Earl of Desmond," he said. But they took him prisoner, carried him off, and then, fearing a rescue, struck off his head. It was sent to Ormonde at Kilkenny, and by him as a trophy to the Queen. She caused it to be set up on London Bridge.

So in 1583 ended the rule of the southern Geraldines. According to the Four Masters, "a general peace was proclaimed through all Ireland, and the two provinces of Munster in particular." In consquence of this proclamation the inhabitants of the neighbouring counties crowded in to inhabit Kerry and the county of Limerick—the regions which had been made into deserts.

In this general submission of Munster, the English Government once more had a chance to establish some rule that would be stable, because it gave protection to all. The chance fell to Sir John Perrott, who was sent over as Deputy.

Perrott first moved down to Munster, but was called north by news of Scots landing; and he summoned a general hosting of Ireland against them and against Sorley Boy, chief of the MacDonnells. The expedition captured Sorley's famous rock castle of Dunluce, near the Causeway.

In the next year is noted a characteristic incident of the period. A tribal raid in Brefny led to an action in which perished a company of galloglasses of the MacSheehys. This was a sept of hereditary swordsmen always in the Geraldines' pay, but "after the extermination of the noblemen by whom they had been employed previously, they had gone about from territory to territory offering themselves for hire." In the same way the MacSwineys of Tyrconnell, hereditary galloglasses, had left their native territory on various occasions when the O'Donnell power was unable to maintain them, and they were settled in Cork and elsewhere. These roving bands of swordsmen were always a danger to the country; they were one of the features of sixteenth-century Ireland which did not contribute to its progress.

At this time, in 1585, "the greater part of the people of Ireland were obedient to their sovereign," and Perrott summoned a general meeting in Dublin on May Day. Thither came the O'Neill, Turlough Luineach, now very old, and Hugh, the Baron of Dungannon, who at this parliament was given

the title of Earl of Tyrone. O'Brien, MacCarthy, O'Conor of Connaught, O'Donnell of Tyrconnell, Maguire of Fermanagh were there, with other lesser chiefs—almost a complete representation of Gaelic Ireland. The only notable clans unrepresented were the O'Mores of Leix and the O'Conors Faly, the Kavanaghs, the Byrnes and the O'Tooles, O'Durneys, and O'Dempseys—all of them marauding borderers of the Pale ; probably none of them felt safe in Dublin.

It was a notable gathering, and, though little came of it, the fact that it could be held shows that much progress was possible on peaceful lines. In the next year, five hundred Irishmen went to Flanders to assist the Queen in her wars.

CHAPTER XXII

HUGH O'NEILL AND HUGH O'DONNELL

Among those who attended Perrott's parliament was Hugh Dubh O'Donnell, lord of Tyrconnell. He had married twice. His second wife, Ineen Dubh, was the child of James MacDonnell, Lord of the Isles, whom Shane O'Neill slew, and of Lady Agnes Campbell, daughter of the Earl of Argyll. Ineen Dubh, "the Dark Daughter," was a woman "slow and very deliberate, excelling in all the qualities that become a woman, yet possessing the heart of a hero and the soul of a soldier." Her chief characteristic was a desperate determination that her eldest son, Hugh the Red, should succeed to his father. The combined influence of the MacDonnells and Campbells, both closely concerned in the politics of Ulster, made it possible that she should set aside the claims of Hugh Dubh's sons by his first marriage. Her boy was sent to be fostered, not with one family only, but with several in succession, thus conciliating all the support possible. He was also betrothed and married very young to the daughter of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone. O'Neill's first wife had been Red Hugh's half-sister, child of O'Donnell's first marriage. One of the families in which the boy was fostered was that of O'Cahan, chief of the subchiefs in the territory of the lords of Tyrone.

All this pointed to an alliance between the three Gaelic powers in Ulster—Tyrone, Tyrconnell, and the Antrim Scots, which England had never wholly subdued, but which had weakened themselves by constant mutual hostility. Moreover, the boy Hugh showed great promise, and there was talk of him throughout Ireland. This talk linked itself with a prophecy that when one Hugh O'Donnell, legitimately chosen chief of Tyrconnell, should be legitimately succeeded by a second Hugh, the successor would be king of all Ireland.

Perrott, the Lord-Deputy, certainly knew all this. His policy was to avoid war, and to strengthen the Crown; the plan which he chose was to secure hostages in English keeping, through whom the Crown would have a control of all dangerous clans. There was no pretext for war with O'Donnell; and the policy of his house had been for a hundred years to support the English rule. It was, moreover, very improbable that, if war were made, the heir of Tyrconnell would be captured. Perrott therefore chartered a ship, laded it with wine and ale, and sent it round to Lough Swilly. He probably had knowledge that Red Hugh was at this time staying with his foster-father MacSwiney Doe, whose castle on Sheephaven was within an easy ride of Rathmullen, where the ship lay, off the castle held by another MacSwiney. Hugh, as was expected, came over to the port on an excursion, and the MacSwiney of Rathmullen sent down to the ship for wine to entertain him and his company. Answer came that all the wine for sale was sold, but that if some of the gentlemen would come to the ship they should get entertainment. The party rowed out to the vessel, and only a few were allowed on board; wine was served in the cabin, and while the guests were drinking, the hatchway was shut down, sail was got on the ship, and she went out of Lough Swilly with the kidnapped prisoners. The boy was put into Dublin Castle. There he lived with a score of other hostages of the Irish and Anglo-Irish, kept in durance like himself. "It was their solace and satisfaction day and night in the close prison where they were to be relating the great cruelty which was inflicted on them, both English and Irish, and hearing of the unjust sentences pronounced and the wrongs done alike to the native Gaels and to people of the Pale." This was an early example of those academies of Irish political discontent which England established at intervals throughout the centuries.

Hugh's father wrote to the Crown pleading for his release, and recalling his own services, which were not few nor small. Hugh O'Neill wrote also to persons of great influence, pointing out that the detention of this lad, his son-in-law, prejudiced his own position. At this time Hugh O'Neill had never drawn sword against the Queen, but often against her enemies. He had been brought up at the English Court, had learnt soldiering in England, and was the personal friend of Elizabeth's counsellor to whom he wrote. But Elizabeth herself

directed that Red Hugh and the other young nobles who had been captured in his company should on no account be released. Perrott's stroke of policy pleased her.

In the meantime rival claimants were busy in Tyrconnell, where Hugh Dubh was too old and weak for authority. These rivals naturally got backing from England, as the State Papers show. But Ineen Dubh, with the help of a Scots bodyguard, killed off first a natural son of her husband's brother Calvagh, and next her husband's own son by his first marriage. She could not, however, prevent FitzWilliam, Perrott's successor, from sending in a force of soldiers, who occupied the monastery of Donegal and from this centre committed much violence on the people. Meanwhile Red Hugh lay in prison, but having, like the other political captives, some liberty of movement. After three years a chance offered, and he broke out with two other Donegal lads, a MacSwiney and an O'Gallagher, and escaped to the mountains, where O'Toole, who held Glencullen, sheltered him and sent for support to a stronger chief, Feagh MacHugh O'Byrne from Glenmalure. A flood stopped the O'Byrnes, and the fugitives were retaken. Hugh was now kept in irons. More than a year later, choosing Christmas night, he broke out again, this time with two sons of Shane O'Neill. Feagh MacHugh had a guide to meet them. But snow fell, they were in no marching trim, and their guide had to leave them and fetch help. By the time he got back one of the O'Neills was dead and Hugh at death's door. Both his feet were frozen, and his great toes had to be cut off. He was indeed in such case that the escape north from Wicklow was doubly painful and difficult. Skill and courage accomplished it. All the fords of the Liffey were closely watched ; but no one thought of his crossing where he did, at the very gate of Dublin Castle. He got shelter at Mellifont, which, after the dispossession of the monks, had been made over to Sir Garrett Moore ; made his way through Dundalk and so to Tyrone, where O'Neill received him secretly and forwarded him home to Ballyshannon. Immediately this remarkable young man gathered a force and drove the English garrison out of Donegal. After this, Hugh Dubh resigned the power, and Red Hugh was solemnly inaugurated.

Pursuing Irish tradition, he made an inaugural expedition. It was directed against Turlough Luineach, who divided Tyrone with Hugh O'Neill and had English support. As an

escaped prisoner, Red Hugh was naturally at war with the English. Hugh O'Neill's position was different. His purpose was the same, to bind Tyrone and Tyrconnell in one powerful alliance ; but he thought it necessary that Red Hugh should be brought to terms with the English and be recognised by them as chief. He therefore obtained permission from the Deputy, FitzWilliam, to negotiate a peace ; and Red Hugh was brought to a parley at Dundalk, unwillingly enough ; his feet did not allow him to forget what he had suffered. Yet a peace was made, and as a result all rival factions in Tyrconnell became submissive ; while, in Tyrone, Turlough Luineach consented to give up the title of O'Neill to Red Hugh's ally and father-in-law. Thus by May 1593, within four months of the escape from Dublin Castle, all Ulster, except Antrim and Down, which the Scots held, was brought under the combined rule of these two closely related and allied princes, who, although of very different ages and temper, acted together as no two Irish chiefs had ever done before.

Tyrone was twenty years older than Red Hugh, and he had seen for himself and been concerned in the events of the five years which Red Hugh spent in prison. The first of these was perhaps the greatest. In 1588, just after the kidnapping at Rathmullen, the Spanish Armada, broken in the English Channel, was dashed to pieces on the Irish coast. Ulster was filled with refugees from its wreckage. Tyrone, who knew England and Europe, probably realised how decisive a blow had been struck at the Spanish power. Yet it was easy for Irishmen to interpret it in another way : Spain had sent out one immense expedition, and therefore Spain could send another, with Ireland as its destination. Moreover, England's policy was now driving Irishmen into a desperate seeking for foreign aid.

In Munster, the whole Desmond inheritance was declared forfeit to the Crown, and a vast extension of the plantation policy was begun. No distinction was made between those who had sided with Desmond and those who either backed the Government or stood neutral. The entire country was surveyed and distributed by huge grants among "undertakers," who undertook the task of colonising it with English —the native population having been either killed or driven off, and the land dispeopled. Ireland now offered a rival attraction to America for adventurous men. Raleigh was one of the

chief among these "undertakers." Spenser, the poet, was an example of those to whom the small grants went; he received over 3000 acres at Kilcolman, near Buttevant, paying a rent of five farthings per acre. It was his duty to find English tenants to work the land; a duty which neither he nor any other carried out. The Irish crept back illegally, and by connivance of those who were paid to keep them out and took bribes to let them in. Thus the actual task of bringing the wasted land back to cultivation fell to the original population, though the profit did not; this confiscation of a province enriched greatly many influential subjects of the confiscating power.

Such a lively demonstration that it paid individual Englishmen to drive Ireland to rebel was fully apprehended by Sir Richard Bingham, Governor of Connaught. Perrott had appointed a Commission in that province, whose purpose was to transform the tribe chiefs into nobles or territorial lords holding directly of the Crown; the Earls of Thomond and of Clanricarde were of the Commission, and the lines of a settlement were agreed which on the whole gave reasonable satisfaction for half a century, till it was upset by Strafford in 1635. But Bingham, who acted as head of the Commission, did his best by brutal severities to neutralise the work and drive the people into fresh revolt. He hanged seventy persons at an assize at Galway, and then declared war on the Burkes because they had declined to attend the Galway court. Later, when the Armada was driven ashore, he visited the severest penalties on those who saved any Spaniard from his gallows. Perrott, who repeatedly censured him, finally appointed a commission of inquiry, which found against Bingham on charges of breaking public faith and of condoning outrage committed by his troops. But Bingham appealed to the Queen, and was upheld and continued in his career of oppression and pillage. Passing outside of Connaught, he sent into Tyrconnell the soldiers who occupied Donegal till Red Hugh on his escape from prison expelled them.

A worse outrage was committed at the other extremity of Ulster. From the time of Shane O'Neill, the Macmahons of Irish Oriel—that is, County Monaghan—had been disposed to transfer their allegiance to the English Crown, finding the O'Neill's yoke heavy. Their chief surrendered his lands to the Crown, and got a regrant of them with a provision that on

his death they should pass to his brother, then tanist. In 1584 Hugh O'Neill was made governor of part of Ulster, including Macmahon's country. In 1589 Macmahon died, and his brother claimed the succession, but was ordered by FitzWilliam, then Lord-Deputy, to pay a fine or bribe of 600 cows. Refusing this, he was brought before the Lord-Deputy, who went down with him into his country under pretence of settling the succession, and there hanged him on a charge of treason. The ground of the charge was that Macmahon had sought to levy distress for a debt by force of arms. His country, according to Fynes Morison, was divided between four prominent Englishmen. "The Irish spared not to say that these men were conscious of his death, and that everyone paid something for his share." Tyrone resented the treachery, especially in a part of Ulster over which he had been made governor. He resented, perhaps even more, that, as he said, "Macmahon was executed as a traitor for distraining for his right according to custom." The customary right of every Irish chief was threatened.

All this was passing while Red Hugh was in prison. Tyrone, watching events from his seat at Dungannon, must have perceived that everywhere in Ireland the English power could beat down the disorganised country and that it had inflicted a deadly blow on Spain; yet every indication showed how likely this power was to crush him and his without compassion if an occasion offered, just or unjust.

The choice for such a man at such a time must have been between desperate expedients; and it is certain that Tyrone postponed as long as possible the day of breaking with England. He may have been influenced by one personal motive. Sir Henry Bagenal of Newry was Marshal of Ulster, and from Newry to Dungannon is no great distance. Hugh O'Neill, whose O'Donnell wife had died, met and fell in love with Bagenal's sister Mabel, a girl of twenty. In spite of her brother's opposition, she eloped with the Irish chief and was married to him. This marriage made O'Neill's feud with Bagenal all the bitterer, but it can hardly have rendered him more willing to go into rebellion. He never disputed that he was the Queen's subject; and it is probable that his real purpose was to attain in the north a position like that of Ormonde in the south—a subject, yet almost greater than a subject.

Yet Elizabeth's confidence in Ormonde rested doubtless on the fact that he was of her own blood. Tyrone was as Gaelic by descent as man could be; and, like every Irish Gael, he was a Catholic. History can assuredly not blame those Irish chiefs who refused to change their religion; but the student of history must see that after St Bartholmew's Day in France and the Armada in the English Channel, Protestantism was fighting for its life, and that Elizabeth and her counsellors would certainly regard every Irish Catholic as a probable enemy. Neither Hugh O'Neill nor Hugh O'Donnell was likely to go into a theological crusade; but the action which England was taking in Ireland forced each of them, through fear for his possessions, his liberty, and even his life, to seek help where he could find it.

Red Hugh was in communication with Spain as soon as he felt securely established in Tyrconnell; and the Catholic Archbishop of Armagh was corresponding also. This archbishop lived with Maguire, chief of Fermanagh, and backed O'Donnell's proposal for an active league of the Irish. Maguire joined the league, but seems to have taken action before it was desired. When the Lord-Deputy called out a hosting against Maguire, Tyrone prevented O'Donnell from backing the rebel, and himself took the field against Maguire and was wounded. But a violent quarrel followed between him and Bagenal, who was in joint command of the force, and whom Tyrone accused of plotting to make him prisoner. It is certainly true that when after this Tyrone came to Dublin and saw the Deputy, Russell, the Queen blamed Russell sharply for letting him go; he should have been detained on whatever plea.

The action against Maguire was the last in which Tyrone supported the Government, and Red Hugh was soon openly committed. The English had seized Maguire's fortress of Enniskillen, and O'Donnell marched to beleaguer their garrison. A force of nearly 1000 English attempting to revictual the place was attacked and routed; the supply train was lost, and so the battle got its name of the "Ford of the Biscuits."

War now became general throughout the northern half of Ireland. Maguire recovered Enniskillen, and in 1595 O'Donnell made his first inroad into Connaught. Bingham set out to intercept him, but Red Hugh showed for the first time that extraordinary speed of movement which was to distinguish

his whole military career, and he got back with enormous booty practically unmolested. It was the signal for a general undoing of Bingham's work. Another Bingham, in charge of Sligo Castle, was stabbed by a Burke, and the place was handed over to O'Donnell. Later in the year, when Sir Richard Bingham laid siege to Sligo, its garrison drove him off, for he lacked cannon; and when the siege was raised Red Hugh levelled the place, and did the same with thirteen other castles. Tyrone had destroyed even his own fortress of Dungannon when in this same year an expedition was undertaken by the English into his country. The Irish had put their reliance on "castles of bones, not of stones."

Tyrone continued to negotiate, but there is little doubt that his purpose was now simply to gain time. An envoy from Philip III. reached Killybegs, was brought to O'Donnell at Lifford, and returned hastily with a request from O'Donnell and O'Neill for men and munitions. Still negotiations continued, and there was a formal parley near Dundalk with both O'Neill and O'Donnell—but a parley in the open field with no chances taken. O'Donnell's attitude was much more uncompromising than that of Tyrone, and no terms could be reached. The Queen began to understand that she had been ill served in Ireland, and that the country was being driven into revolt. Bingham was recalled; Sir Conyers Clifford, a man who earned respect and liking, was sent in his place. But it was too late for a change of policy; and when hostilities began, Red Hugh pushed his conquests in Connaught down to Clanricarde's country and the gates of Galway. The walled town of Athenry was taken and plundered.

The Earl of Clanricarde, who had been English bred, and his kinsman the Earl of Thomond were solidly allied to the English at this time, and O'Donnell's action stimulated their zeal when the Lord-Deputy determined to strike at this enemy in his own country. A powerful force moved out of Connaught to the fords of the Erne, and they forced their passage, losing the second man in Thomond, O'Brien, Lord Inchiquin, at the crossing. But the army was confronted by the castle of Ballyshannon, and in spite of their guns, brought by sea from Galway, they failed to take it, and provisions began to run out. It was necessary to recross under opposition, and Clifford was driven to attempt a difficult pass above the waterfall called the Ford of Heroes. He lost men

there ; he lost more in the retreat ; but for his skill he would have lost all ; the result was a severe check for the English. It was emphasised in another reverse inflicted on them by the MacDonnells of Antrim at Island Magee. Finally, in 1598, an attempt in great force was made to reduce Tyrone. The command of the army, 4000 foot, 320 horse, with four guns, was entrusted to Tyrone's brother-in-law, Bagenal, Marshal of Ulster. They met little serious opposition till they reached Armagh, which had been throughout this year in English hands. Their object was to relieve an important fort recently erected called Portmore, which commanded the ford of the Blackwater, and so gave access to the heart of Tyrone's country.

Tyrone's army was drawn up and entrenched at a place called the Yellow Ford, about two miles out of Armagh ; O'Donnell was present, and provided about half the Irish force. The English had to pass through a bog before they reached the main trench, and they were attacked from both flanks. Struggling over the trench, they were sharply attacked and driven back on it ; Bagenal was shot dead. The heaviest gun stuck in the bog, and its gun-team of oxen were shot down by O'Donnell's marksmen. Finally a powder-cart blew up, and all was confusion. About half the force were lost. No such defeat had been inflicted on the English in Ireland since the day of the Bruces.

Naturally there were risings all over Ireland. But it cannot be said that all Ireland rose. In Thomond, there was a party for the Earl and the English connection which neutralised Clare. In Desmond, James FitzThomas, son to a half-brother of the late earl, was chosen by the Geraldines as their leader ; a force of Tyrone's allies under an O'More, a Burke, and Tyrrell, a Palesman, went down to make a nucleus for revolt, and they proclaimed FitzThomas Earl of Desmond by Tyrone's order — a remarkable assumption of royal authority. All the English settlement under the Desmond confiscation was wiped out, often in blood. Spenser escaped, but lost a child in the burning of his house : savagery had bred savagery. There was no effective defence of the plantation in Munster. Ormonde had to fall back and defend his own country of Kilkenny and Tipperary, which he succeeded in holding. But his kinsman Lord Mountgarrett, whose wife was Tyrone's sister, and Lord Cahir, another of the Butler

stock, joined the rebellion under the influence of Catholic divines—Dr Creagh, Bishop of Cork, and Archer, a famous Jesuit. A meeting of the insurgents was held at Holy Cross in Tipperary, when they pledged themselves to each other on the sacred relic which the Cross enshrined.

From this point may be dated an extension of the idea of Irish nationality, and perhaps a reshaping of it. There had been clearly recognised three interests in Ireland—the Irish, the English, and the Anglo-Irish or old English. Ireland now began to be divided rather into Protestant and Catholic ; but since the Catholic comprised all the old Irish, the Catholic cause ranked as the Irish, and those Anglo-Irish like Mountgarrett, who espoused it, began to be considered part of the Irish nation. Lord Baltinglass, head of the Eustace family, who went into rebellion in Leinster during the Desmond war and shared Desmond's forfeiture, may be taken as the first instance of this new development. Desmonds and Burkes had long become Irish by adoption of Irish custom, law, speech, and dress ; the Eustaces and their like came to be considered Irish only when they adhered to the religion of the Irish, and refused to accept that of England. The same test finally marked off the citizens of most Irish towns as Irish. Yet, Catholic or not, most of the great families of the Pale, as well as of the merchants of Munster cities, supported Elizabeth's Government. For an Anglo-Irish trader or noble to side with the Irish in war was exceptional throughout the sixteenth century.

At this juncture the Earl of Essex came to Ireland with title of Lord-Lieutenant, with a great army and the fullest power. He took the field at once ; the O'Mores, under Owen, son of Rory, opposed his passage through Leix, and so many plumed helmets were lost at one skirmish that the place was called the Pass of Plumes. Essex marched through Leinster and Munster and took one place, Cahir, which resisted ; but Tyrone's general orders were to avoid main engagements, and he returned to Dublin having suffered little and effected nothing. During his absence in Munster, the O'Byrnes inflicted a considerable loss on a party of English near Wicklow ; and Essex himself on his way north had to fight hard between Gorey and Arklow. The Queen was furious, and Essex, to effect something, ordered Clifford, the Governor of Connaught, to relieve O'Conor Sligo, who was besieged in

Collooney by O'Donnell. Clifford had to cross the Curlew Mountains, and thought to do it by surprise, but O'Donnell was ready for him, and his preparations were skilfully made. But the disaster which befell could only be accounted by the fact that in all their engagements O'Donnell and O'Neill had the advantage of confidence; their opponents fought like men expecting to be beaten. Clifford was killed, fighting gallantly in the middle of a shameful rout.

Essex now marched in person against Tyrone, and the armies came into touch about Ardee. Tyrone was determined not to fight except on ground of his own choosing, and Essex decided on a parley. A truce was made. The negotiator, Sir Thomas Warren, reports that Tyrone "seemed to stand chiefly upon a general liberty of religion throughout the kingdom." He was answered that Her Majesty would as soon "give her crown from her head." "They that are joined with me fight for the Catholic religion and liberties of our country," he rejoined. There is no evidence that he claimed the withdrawal of English sovereignty. He did claim the restoration to their owners of all lands forfeited by confiscation for high treason. This meant undoing the plantations of Mary's reign as well as of Elizabeth's.

Essex was recalled in disgrace, and Lord Mountjoy appointed in his place; yet Tyrone moved at will over the whole island. He made a progress through Munster, but the cities were held against him. All through this period the rebel armies, superior in personnel, were inferior in armament; they had less powder, and their guns were outranged by those of the English. They were unequipped for reducing fortresses, and handicapped in a regular battle of position. And they had now two able soldiers against them. In the south, Sir George Carew was made Lord President of Munster; in the north, Sir Henry Docwra took command of an expedition which sailed to Lough Foyle and established a fort and strong garrison at Derry. No expedition could have reached that place by land; but England had full command of the sea, and now used it.

This was the beginning of Red Hugh's reverses. Always active, he decided to punish Clanricarde and Thomond, who had taken part for England in the war, and also to prevent them from pressing on James FitzThomas, called "the Sugane Earl" of Desmond. Red Hugh's expedition was brilliantly

successful. But during his absence Docwra got into communication with Neil Garv O'Donnell, son to the elder brother of Hugh's father, and an able soldier—ambitious of headship. Neil agreed to desert, and was sent as guide to a party against Hugh's castle of Lifford, at an important ford where the Finn and Mourne meet, which was captured by his means. From this time forward Red Hugh could never feel secure about his own country.

Meanwhile in central Ireland Mountjoy had resumed the policy pursued during the Desmond wars and was destroying, in a systematic and scientific manner, every crop that was sown. In Munster Carew was burning and slaying, and the Sugane Earl had no such forces and no such ability to lead them as the northern chiefs possessed. Finally in 1601 James FitzThomas was hunted down and taken, to die a prisoner in Dublin. Tyrone himself was hard pressed in the north, and the tide of his success had evidently begun to turn when suddenly the event about which he had laid his whole plans took place. Don Juan del Aguila, a Spanish general of high repute, landed at Kinsale with two thousand five hundred troops, of the best in Europe. Another part of the expedition, under Pedro Zubiaur, was driven back by weather, but later landed safely in West Cork with about one thousand men and ordnance. Mountjoy and Carew had the advantage of being able to reach the scene of action without difficulty ; Tyrone and O'Donnell had to come from the north ; and O'Donnell, before he could leave Donegal, had to beat down Neil Garv's supporters. Munster did not rise, except in the west, where O'Sullivan Beare moved instantly and was ready to receive and assist Zubiaur's contingent. The main English force drew lines about Kinsale, and proceeded vigorously with the siege. Carew with a strong army was detached to County Limerick in order to prevent O'Donnell from coming down to effect his junction with Tyrone.

It may be said that at this time Tyrone was acting as High King and Red Hugh as a subordinate king in support of him. This willing acceptance of subordination is evidence of a new spirit in Ireland, and the evidence is emphasised by the special danger to O'Donnell's personal position. He marched south, leaving at Derry on his border an English garrison under a very able commander, and a discontented and rebellious faction among his own people under a first-rate man

of war whose traditional claim to be O'Donnell was at least as good as Hugh's own. Had he considered solely his own interest, or the local power of his name, he would never have moved. He was acting, however, in a new policy which may justly be described as national.

Once more Red Hugh was entirely successful. He quelled all opposition in his own country, then, marching south with the Shannon on his right, came into Tipperary. The Slieve Phelim Mountains blocked his passage, and Carew was within four miles of his camp. But a heavy frost came which made the boggy places in Slieve Phelim traversable, and O'Donnell got away by night, and before day was through the narrow pass where Carew hoped to stop him, and pushed on actually to Croom. This march of his was, Carew says, "above two and thirty miles" (forty English), "the greatest march with carriage that hath been heard of." Carew fell back on Kinsale, and the Irish army, having assembled, took up a position between the English and Cork. The line of communication was cut, and, though supplies could still be brought by sea, Mountjoy's force was soon in great difficulty and wasting by disease and famine. Every day strengthened the Irish and weakened the English. But del Aguila was urgent for an attack. At a council of war Tyrone counselled a waiting game; but O'Donnell supported the Spaniard's view, and it was decided to give battle; the first object being to force a passage through the English lines for those Spaniards who with O'Sullivan Beare had come from the west. With the inner line thus reinforced, it was hoped to crush the English between two armies.

The English, it has to be said, were mostly Irish so far as the rank and file were concerned. Mountjoy's army comprised at least five thousand Irishmen enlisted for pay—bonaghts and galloglasses whom the chances of Irish war had left masterless and who were willing to follow the trade of war in any service. Yet they were ready also to desert, and one strong reason for delay was that wholesale mutiny was to be looked for among them. But when they went out to fight, they fought. There were, moreover, Irish leaders among them. The Earl of Thomond had come from England in charge of reinforcements, and was in Mountjoy's camp; the Earl of Clanricarde was by general admission the most active soldier on the day of battle when it came.

Word of the projected attack came through to the English camp, and there was no surprise. Carew drew out a considerable part of his force, while Mountjoy faced the town and its Spaniards. The Irish army moved by night in three divisions, and that which O'Donnell commanded lost its way and was out of place when daylight came. Tyrone appears to have given ground with the tactical intention of drawing the English on to a difficult bog, but the result was disaster ; the composite force under him lost its order, the English charged, Clanricarde leading ; panic and rout followed. Scarcely one Englishman fell. Tyrone's force was not greatly affected materially ; but the disaster was moral. The whole combination which he headed fell to pieces like a house of cards.

O'Donnell's action was characteristic. He saw that it would be impossible after this failure to unite Ireland again for resistance, even so far as it had been united under him and Tyrone ; he saw that Don Juan's force would be driven to surrender, as happened within a few days, and that most discouraging reports would inevitably go to Philip III. Yet only in Spain lay any hope. His presence was certainly needed to maintain his personal authority in his own country ; but a greater interest was at stake, and he took ship instantly for Spain, and went straight to the king. Philip promised a new army, and O'Donnell waited and chafed under delay, while the prospect grew bleaker as news came in from Ireland, where the process of subjugation went on mercilessly and apace. Yet Carew, who had good reason to fear Red Hugh's fiery energy, knew no scruples. In May 1602 he wrote to Mountjoy : " James Blake of Galway is gone into Spain with a determination, bound with many oaths, to kill O'Donnell." In October he wrote again : " O'Donnell is dead, and I do think it will fall out that he is poisoned by James Blake. . . . At his coming into Spain he was suspected by O'Donnell, because he embarked at Cork under my authority, but afterwards he insinuated his access and O'Donnell is dead. He never told the President " (Carew himself) " in what manner he would kill him, but did assure him it should be effected."

That is all we know concerning Red Hugh's death in Simancas, when he was at Philip's Court.

Meanwhile Tyrone had been driven to seek refuge in the great forest of Glenconkein, which then covered all the southern part of County Derry. Docwra, who had reduced all

Donegal and much of north Connaught to submission, pressed on him from the west, Chichester from the east, yet he remained inaccessible; while the policy of creating famine all about him was pursued ruthlessly, with the most horrible results.

In Munster there had been general submission after the news of Kinsale, except in the extreme west. Here O'Sullivan Beare and his Spaniards were still holding out, encouraged by the arrival of a vessel from Spain with £12,000 and ammunition. Their main fortress was O'Sullivan's castle of Dunboy, commanded by MacGeoghegan. Carew, competent in such matters, got his force to this remote spot, got his guns into position, and soon breached the place and carried it. MacGeoghegan, who had been wounded in the siege, was killed as he staggered towards his powder barrel with a lighted candle attempting to blow up the place over his own men and the English together. All the men taken were hanged; the Jesuit O'Colan, or Collins, was tortured while under examination, and finally, since nothing could be extracted from him, was hanged, drawn, and quartered.

O'Sullivan Beare was still at large in Glengarriff—at the head of a force of which part was under a Burke, part under Tyrrell. These allies finally deciding to leave Munster, O'Sullivan with all his people decided to fly north. This party of over 1000 people, including women and children, suffered incredible things. They had to cross the Shannon by relays in an improvised curragh of great size made by an O'Driscoll, one of the Cork seafaring clan; another, made by an O'Malley, foundered with its occupants. In Clanricarde they were attacked, but fought their way through, and on the sixteenth day reached O'Rourke's castle of Leitrim; those who reached it having covered at least 200 miles; they were 34 men and one woman. Dermot O'Sullivan, father of the historian of these wars, aged nearly seventy, survived this march. He, with O'Sullivan Beare, escaped later to Spain, where his son was brought up. Already the exiled Catholic Irish were becoming an element in the life of Europe—an element necessarily hostile to England.

Meanwhile the prolonged resistance and escape of Tyrone was proceeding with its horrible accompaniments. Ulster was littered with dead bodies, their mouths all coloured green by eating nettles and docks. Corpses were eaten, children were killed and eaten. Still Tyrone negotiated, and while

negotiations were in progress Elizabeth died. It was certain that her successor, with whom Tyrone had often been in secret communication while James was King of Scotland only, would make easier terms ; and the news was studiously kept a secret from Ireland, while Tyrone was hard pressed to a final submission. Only after he had made it did the news become known, and Tyrone was then in Dublin. By the terms made, he retained great personal possessions ; but he had not succeeded in securing any concession for his religion, and he had signed away all his powers as an Irish chief.

Thus, with the ending of Elizabeth's reign, there was made a final end of the old Gaelic order. In so far as this meant a disappearance of rule by tribal chiefs, history can scarcely represent it as matter for regret. Such a system is unfitted for the modern world, into which Europe was emerging from the mediæval state. The lack of solidity in the support given by Ireland at large to Tyrone and Tyrconnell when they were at the height of their power, and the amount of support given by Irish soldiers and by Irish chiefs and nobles to Elizabeth's forces against them, combine to indicate that Ireland was very largely for the monarchy and the more settled order it promised.

But the issue did not any longer lie simply between tribalism and acceptance of a strong foreign monarchy. There could be no settled order so long as the question of religion remained unsettled. Whatever was guaranteed to Tyrone or to any other Irish magnate might be withdrawn on the plea that he was a Catholic. Even when the central Government was indisposed to create trouble by an effort to enforce conformity, ambitious men were always tempted, by the prospect of confiscations, to force upon Catholics the choice between their conscience and their security. That was the ruinous heritage which the wars of the sixteenth century left to Ireland.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE FLIGHT OF THE EARLS AND THE ULSTER PLANTATION

With the close of the Irish wars which made the reign of Elizabeth horrible, a new period in Irish history begins. The old Gaelic order of independent or semi-independent principalities and chieftaincies was finally broken down with the defeat of Tyrone and Tyrconnell. It was a political state similar to, though not identical with, what had existed throughout nearly all of Europe some centuries earlier, and had been gradually replaced nearly everywhere by strong central monarchies. In Ireland, but for the presence of a foreign power, probably the same thing would have happened. At all events tribal kingship lasted in Ireland till it was completely out of date and alien from the general development of Europe. It is probable that so fierce a struggle as was made to maintain it against the power of Elizabethan England would never have taken place had not the issue been complicated with the question of religion. Ireland was not only asked to give up its traditional way of government, which involved the surrender of personal ambitions and interests for all the leading members of the many ruling families; it was bidden also to give up its traditional religion. As the struggle went on it became clear that the penalty of defeat would be wholesale confiscation of all that Irishmen had to lose—their land and their living by it. The agony was terribly prolonged, because resistance had so many centres: England was not faced by a single state whose effort could be paralysed by a stunning blow. The fifteen years of war which began with the Desmond rising was war with separate units or parts of Ireland. Hugh O'Neill himself was on the side of the Government in the Desmond rising; Tyrconnell, as a state, took no part in the war. By the time Red Hugh went into revolt and carried Tyrone with him, a great part

of Ireland had evidently determined that it was hopeless to support the old Irish order against the English State. Even when the Spaniards were in force at Kinsale and strongly lodged in West Cork, the armies which fought against the Spaniards and Tyrone were largely composed of Irishmen. In Connaught, where the old order had most completely broken down, Perrott's "composition" had attached many of the Irish nobles to the new order by giving them large territorial interests with a secure title. England owed to this the support of Clanricarde and of the O'Briens; for the same policy had been put into operation in Thomond. Resistance was never pushed to extremities in Connaught, as it was first in Munster and later in Ulster. For that reason Connaught escaped what the northern and the southern provinces underwent—reduction by famine. This process was combined with wholesale execution of all persons taken—the infirm, the women and the children, as well as adult men; so that it was in the true sense a war of extermination.

When such a war is undertaken, those who prosecute it invariably justify their action on grounds of religion and of policy. All the writers of Elizabeth's reign defended the extirpation of the Irish on the double plea that Ireland was a breeding-place of heretical superstition, and that it was a land suitable for English colonisation, possessed by a race incapable of cultivating it. When famine and sword had blotted out resistance in ruin, the arguments by which their use had been justified were employed to affect statesmen's treatment of the conquered territory and population.

It ought to be remembered that such men as Spenser were just as sincere in their hatred of Romanism as were the Inquisitors in their detestation of heresy. Toleration did not then exist, either as an ideal or a principle. Statesmen of the period were willing from considerations of policy to avoid driving to extremities the adherents of what they at least officially regarded as a false religion; further than this, toleration did not go, and Elizabeth went this length. Under James, Bacon also preached such politic forbearance as a counsel of expediency; and this spirit might have guided England's Irish policy had it not been for the other factor. Hatred of Catholicism was linked with greed for Irish land. Substitution of British settlers for the Irish inhabitants was

recommended in the interest of civilisation by men who saw in this line of argument a short way to become rich.

Those who can remember as far back as the South African War will recall the attitude of English public opinion towards the lands occupied by African natives and by the Boers. Imperial expansion was an ideal honestly entertained by many ; yet it will hardly be disputed that hopes of private gain moved many adventurers in the same direction. In Elizabeth's day, and in that of James, no Englishman had more respect for the rights or claims of Irishmen than had the South African adventurers for those of the Boers ; while by the majority of Elizabethan Englishmen, Ireland and the Irish were regarded exactly as Victorian Englishmen regarded South Africa and its native races. Yet the difference between, say, Tyrone and Mountjoy was not the difference between Lobengula and Cecil Rhodes, but between Botha and Kitchener.

Some account must be given separately of these two political impulses—that which led statesmen to attempt the repression of Catholicism and the imposition of religious uniformity ; and that which aimed at the substitution of British settlers for the Irish inhabitants.

When James of Scotland was proclaimed King of Great Britain, Ireland for the first time hoped and expected something from a change of sovereignty. His mother, Mary Stuart, had stood for Catholicism as against Elizabeth and her Protestantism ; and he was descended from a line of kings who traced their blood back to Ireland. Irishmen hoped for a sympathetic rule ; they counted upon toleration for the Catholic religion. Perhaps unwisely, the issue was forced at once ; Mass was publicly said in Cork, Wexford, and Waterford, places which had stood to England throughout the wars. Catholics in effect claimed that proven loyalty should entitle them to religious freedom. In Cork there was even resistance to the declaration of uniformity with England in religion. All this produced a sharp disavowal from the King. James was an amateur theologian ; his nature had been formed in the country of John Knox, and he knew the force behind the Reformation and its dangerous quality. He knew nothing about Ireland, and it is possible that he may have been misled, as certainly his Attorney-General, Sir John Davies, had been misled, by the example of England. England had

followed without difficulty the Crown's guidance towards Protestantism under Henry VIII. and Edward VI. ; it had conformed when Mary turned it back to Catholicism ; it had conformed again to Protestantism under Elizabeth. Davies thought that, so far as the matter of religion was concerned, an equal pliancy could be expected from the Irish.

Looking back from this distance we can see plainly enough how different were the two cases. The Reformation in England began with the popular preachers of discontent against a Church which had grown too worldly. This allied itself with the national dislike of foreign intervention. Henry VIII.'s patronage of the Reformation and his partial adherence to Protestant theology were connected so closely with his personal desires that his example could not appeal to men's religious instinct, and Mary found no difficulty in carrying the mass of Englishmen back into the line of an old tradition. But there was in England a determined Protestant minority who cared enough for their convictions to face the fire. Protestantism became a new force from the time it had martyrs. The Armada completed the work of making conversion national.

In Ireland the reformed religion never had a chance of success. It became known to Ireland as the official creed of foreign conquerors. No man in Ireland accepted it for conscience' sake in the sixteenth century. It was to the material interest of every man in Ireland to accept it ; but it was recommended to Ireland by no other consideration. Under Elizabeth the highest offices in the Church were held by Anglican divines, all of whom were politicians rather than ecclesiastics, and many of whom simply took the revenues and paid others a miserable wage to do the duties. Neither sacrifice nor zeal was shown in the ministers or adherents of the reformed religion to justify its claims ; it made no appeal to the heart of the people, and all its associations were with a Government that was actually trampling the life out of wide regions of Ireland.

The clergy themselves in Ireland and the rulers of the country became aware that a religion should be taught before acceptance of it could be expected ; and they realised how powerful a propaganda was going on for the Roman Catholic side. Something therefore had to be done, both positively and negatively, about education. It was decided, positively,

that Ireland was to receive education in a Protestant institution; and negatively, that all education not Protestant should be stopped.

English rule in Ireland must be always blamed for its long neglect to provide education among those whom it claimed as its Irish subjects. Blame is the more justifiable because in this respect native Irish rulers had shown a wise liberality throughout the centuries. The Government which claimed to represent, and in many ways did represent, a more civilised power compared ill in this respect with the Irish standard.

In the beginning of her reign Elizabeth projected the establishment of a university in Dublin, but characteristically proposed to do it cheap by annexing the buildings and the endowments of St Patrick's collegiate church. The project was thwarted, no less characteristically, by Loftus, the Archbishop of Dublin, who had secured for himself or his friends several of the appointments in St Patrick's, and would not give up the revenue. Thus a generation went by in which the young men of Ireland who would naturally seek education must cross the seas to look for it. It was almost as easy for them to go to Spain, France, or Flanders as to England, and more attractive, because they went to people of their own religion. Ultimately, however, in 1592, Trinity College was founded on its present site, and given the status of a university. It was designed, in Elizabeth's own words, "as a college for learning whereby knowledge and civility might be increased by the instruction of our people, whereof many have usually heretofore used to travel into France, Italy, and Spain to get learning in such foreign universities whereby they have been infected with Popery and other ill qualities." In other words, the university for Ireland, not provided till four centuries had elapsed, was designed as an instrument of propaganda to stop a movement which had set in with force, linking Ireland to Catholic Europe, severing it in sympathy from Protestant Great Britain. The university was from its foundation of service to Ireland; but it was not, and it never became, the great force and benefit which it might have been if established before the religious cleavage came.

Yet the provision of a great teaching establishment, even though designed to proselytise against the religion of nearly all Irishmen, was at least something constructive for which

credit could be fairly claimed, in view of the political standard then prevailing throughout Europe. The destructive side of the same policy was in no sense creditable. When the monastic institutions were destroyed, under Henry VIII. and Edward VI., many centres of teaching disappeared, and the state of Ireland did not conduce to creation of new ones. But the Jesuits, when they got to work in Ireland, attended promptly to this matter; they established schools in the southern towns, and did their best to link them with Irish colleges on the Continent, one of which, at Lisbon, was founded two years after Trinity. All these Catholic schools in Ireland were suppressed, under James I., through a Commission, head of which was Archbishop Ussher, rightly famous for his scholarship, and one of the earliest ornaments of Trinity College. By this time, 1615, the Jesuits had been driven into concealment; but in Galway a native Irishman, Alexander Lynch, was "a public schoolmaster placed there by the citizens," who had great numbers of scholars from Connaught, from the Pale, and other parts. The Commission inspected his school, and "had proof" (they report) "how his scholars profited under him by the verses and orations which they presented us. We sent for that schoolmaster and seriously advised him to conform to the religion established, and not prevailing with our advices enjoyned him to forbear teaching." So ended that school, and education in Galway was banned except on condition that pupils should be taught to unlearn their religion.

It is quite true that the Spain of that day would not have tolerated a school in which the reformed religion was taught; James and his ministers were no worse then their contemporaries in Europe. But a policy must be judged by its results, and the result of this one was to estrange Ireland alike from Protestantism and from England. It severed the intellectual interests of Ireland from those of England at a critical moment.

For, in the reaction after half a century of almost continuous and devastating war, intellectual interests developed fast in Ireland, and this severance hindered much mutual action that could have been fruitful. Lynch of Galway had in his school the extraordinary number of 1200 pupils. Among them was Roderic O'Flaherty, a noble of the Connemara clan, whose book, *Ogygia*, an account of West Connaught, is still

an important document; yet it shows plainly enough how much the traditional learning of Ireland could have gained by intercourse with the wider scholarship of such men as Ussher. Another pupil was the teacher's own son, John Lynch, whose *Cambrensis Eversus* is a first attempt to refute the English versions of Irish history, which began with the work of Gerald of Wales. John Lynch ended his days as Archbishop of Louvain, one of the centres of Irish education on the Continent. Jacobean policy had made of him another link binding Ireland to Catholic Europe, dragging it away from Protestant England.

The love of learning and letters was very strong in Ireland. English power controlled the access to learning in such fashion that Irishmen were driven for conscience sake to find their way to sources which must be imbued with hatred of England. A characteristic figure of this time is Geoffrey Keating, a Tipperary man of Norman stock, who was sent abroad to be trained for the priesthood, came back to Ireland, and was prosecuted under the laws against Popery; then, unable to labour as a priest, he conceived the idea of compiling a history of Ireland down to the Norman Conquest. His book was written while he wandered in hiding from place to place wherever an ancient manuscript could be found, and it became widely popular; hundreds of copies were made in writing. But it could not be printed. The English authority controlled the material apparatus for the diffusion of learning, and denied the use of it to those who used the Irish tongue.

It is at all events conceivable that this deep estrangement between the two realms might have been removed by quite other methods, such as those for which Bedell stood. This most lovable scholar and sincere Protestant was brought over from England to be Provost of Trinity. Here he distinguished himself by reviving the study of Irish, through which study alone he perceived that the mind of Ireland could be reached; he learnt the language himself, and set to procuring a translation of the Bible into it. Transferred from the university to the bishopric of Kilmore, in Cavan, he made himself beloved among the Catholics who surrounded him. If Ireland could ever have been brought to accept the Reformation, it would have been by such methods and examples as those of Bedell. Unhappily, he was anything but typical of

the Anglican Church in Ireland during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Unhappily, too, the persecution of Catholicism as a religion was not solely dictated by reasons of state or of theological consistency. No one, except Bedell, seriously considered how to convert the Irish. It was more convenient that they should remain unconverted, and unprotected because unconverted. The policy of plantation of land was much more popular and effective than that of imposing a religious uniformity.

Tyrone and O'Donnell had held out long enough to force the concession of terms before they surrendered; and it was not possible to follow up that war by a wholesale confiscation, as had been done when Desmond came to ruin. Those who had made the war, who had hunted Tyrone almost to death, felt themselves baulked of the rich prizes which might have come to them. They were frankly furious to see the rebel Tyrone received at Court by King James, and with him Red Hugh's brother, Rory O'Donnell, whom James now made Earl of Tyrconnell.

During a period of four years these two Gaelic nobles were lords of their countries on the same terms as O'Brien of Thomond was lord of his. There was now a sheriff in Tyrone, a sheriff in Tyrconnell, and English Courts were held without interruption over all Ireland. A general pardon and amnesty for the rebellion had been proclaimed. But seeds of trouble still existed. Tyrone kept order in his country, and since there were no police, a force of men was needed. He claimed the right to levy taxes for their support off the territory of O'Cahan, formerly his principal subchief. But O'Cahan had made a separate submission before Tyrone surrendered, and Sir Henry Docwra had guaranteed to him that he should hold direct of the King and have no Irish overlord. He resisted Tyrone's demand and appealed to Docwra, who supported all his statements, as in honour bound. Tyrone went into O'Cahan's territory and took the cattle by force, using his customary right by Irish law.

In Tyrconnell also there were difficulties. Red Hugh, sailing for Spain, had left Rory as his successor; and the English Government accepted him as chief. But Neil Garv, who had deserted Red Hugh because of jealousy, considered that under Irish usage he had always had a better right than

Red Hugh to be chief of Tyrconnell, and that when Hugh's death left the title vacant he was the fit choice to succeed. Accordingly, without consulting the Government, he caused himself to be proclaimed and inaugurated O'Donnell. Mountjoy resented this ; and though in the settlement Neil received 13,000 acres of Tyrconnell about Lifford, Lifford itself was withheld from him, and he was definitely set under Rory.

Mountjoy, now Earl of Devonshire, continued to be the mainspring of Irish policy till his death in 1606 ; and he steadily backed Tyrone. When he died, power fell completely into the hands of Chichester, who had become Lord-Deputy in the end of 1604, and remained in control till 1616. In the year after Mountjoy's death Lord Howth approached Chichester with stories of a plot to surprise Dublin Castle and seek aid from Spain. At the same time Chichester was getting secret information from Tyrone's fourth wife (a Magennis) as to Tyrone's actions. She reported him as complaining that officials of all kinds harassed him, and were his enemies. We know nothing more definite as to what preceded the moment when Tyrone was ordered to present himself in London, along with O'Cahan, in order that their differences might be decided. It is quite clear, however, that Tyrone, rightly or wrongly, believed that the intention was to hold him as a prisoner ; and that he and Tyrconnell, who throughout acted under his advice, decided to use the means of escape which they had already prepared.

Maguire, brother of Red Hugh's ablest supporter, and himself an active, able young man, had been sent to the Continent by the earls, and he got a ship at Rouen commanded by a Drogheda seaman. This vessel came into Lough Swilly at the end of August 1607. Tyrone, on hearing of her arrival, rode from Drogheda, where he had been living, through Armagh and Dungannon to Lifford, thence to Rathmullen, where Tyrconnell joined him, and they went on board and sailed with a company of ninety-nine persons, all nobles of Gaelic Ulster. This was the Flight of the Earls. They landed in Brittany, and made their way into Flanders. Here Tyrone's son Henry was in command of an Irish regiment, 1400 strong. The earls stayed two years in Flanders, and then went to Rome, where O'Donnell died young. Tyrone lived to be very old, and so long as he lived rumours of his return always went through Ireland. With his death in 1616 the old order

finally disappeared. A bitter beginning had already been made with the new.

Prosecution for treason was instituted against the earls and their chief adherents after their flight. A grand jury in Donegal found a true bill against them, and its foreman was Sir Cahir O'Doherty, the young chief of Inishowen. He had sided, like Neil Garv, with the English, and had served on the field in Docwra's forces. He was married to a lady of the Pale, Lord Gormanston's sister. Docwra had made him intimate in his own house at Derry, and had done his best to fit him for his place in the new order as a territorial magnate under the English Crown. A special Commission was appointed to administer the counties of Donegal, Tyrone, and Armagh, left vacant of their recognised chiefs ; and Sir Cahir was of this Commission.

But Paulet, who had succeeded to the command at Derry, was of a very different disposition from Docwra's. On some petty pretext, he made an attempt to seize without warning O'Doherty's castle of Burt, then accused the chief of treason, insulted, and it is said, struck him. Cahir went into rebellion, seized the fort at Culmore on Lough Foyle, and then attacked and burnt Derry, killing Paulet. Chichester sent up a strong force, which regained Inishowen at once and made prisoner of Neil Garv O'Donnell, who was under suspicion of having incited Cahir to revolt. The business was soon ended by a small engagement near Kilmacrenan, where Cahir O'Doherty fell. Trifling sympathetic outbreaks in O'Hanlon's county of South Armagh gave even less trouble. An Irish jury at Armagh found a true bill against all who were in rebellion, and a score of men were hanged. In Tory Island a garrison held out, and terms were entered into with two of the garrison, each of whom was promised his own life if he would betray the castle and kill seven of his comrades. The result was a general butchery. If any new lesson were needed of what consequences rebellion might entail, the north of Ireland assuredly got it. Yet Ireland was not considered sufficiently submissive. Neil Garv was tried for treason, but the Donegal jury refused to condemn him, although they were kept three days without food. Neil, however, was taken to the Tower, and there remained eight years, till he died. O'Cahan shared the same fate, but was never brought to trial. The jury's refusal to convict Neil Garv was made a new argument for

the policy so often already advocated, of replacing the Irish by English and Scottish colonists. This time it was carried out with effect.

On the plea that Tyrone and Tyrconnell and their adherents had committed treason, their territories were declared forfeit to the Crown. This was held to cover the entire area of six counties—Tyrconnell, Tyrone, Fermanagh, Cavan, Armagh, and Derry, then called the county of Coleraine. No matter whether the inhabitants, great or small, had been implicated with Tyrone and his associates, or had been entirely ignorant of their proceedings, or even opposed to them, the land in their possession was confiscated.

In this way, the flight of the Earls and the subsequent rebellion of O'Doherty were made pretexts to undo whatever Ireland had gained by the prolonged resistance in Elizabeth's day. Tyrone had surrendered on terms, and subsequently there was a general amnesty. Now, when Ireland lay disarmed, process of law was employed under which England seized all the rights which the most unresisted conqueror in the most barbarous age could have arrogated. All the land in this vast area was to be dealt with as if no man living there had any right or title in it.

No one can defend this measure by any plea of justice; but the devastated country was also largely dispeopled, and the opportunity for resettlement, though unjustly created, might have been used with statesmanship. Chichester's view was that the native Irish should first be provided with as much land as they could cultivate, and be given secure titles to it; the remainder should then be allotted to new settlers. He held that at least half should go to the natives. But the Council in London proceeded quite otherwise, and offered the whole area to those who would take it up in lots of 1000 to 2000 acres at a rent varying from a penny to twopence an acre. There were to be three classes of grants: first, to "undertakers," who were bound to build castles and keep men trained for their defence. They were only allowed to let land to English or Scottish tenants. The second grants were to "servitors," men of military experience, who paid the higher rent and were permitted to have Irish tenants, whom, as soldiers, they were expected to be able to control. Thirdly, grants might be made to the native Irish, who paid a double rent.

Over 500,000 acres were allotted. More than 200,000 went to British undertakers, and more than 100,000 to the Church, including endowments for education of Protestant type. More than 50,000 went to servitors or soldier occupiers. The native Irish got less than 50,000. Great tracts were given to privileged individuals; Chichester himself acquired the whole of Inishowen.

The most important concession of all was that acquired by the City of London. Few applicants were forthcoming for lands in the O'Cahan country; and a kind of prospectus was drawn up, and submitted to the London Corporation. They were offered for £20,000 "the late ruinated city of Derry," with the castle of Coleraine and all the land between these places: that is, the entire county of Derry. The concession comprised the valuable fisheries of the Foyle and the Bann, as well as all Church patronage in the county. The prospectus set out how the soil and climate were adapted to produce foodstuffs, cattle, and hides; how hemp and flax grew there "more naturally than elsewhere"; how plentiful and convenient were the materials for house-building and ship-building; how rich was the sea-fishing adjacent; and how the havens lay well for Spain and the Mediterranean, and were nearest of all ports to Newfoundland. The city took up the project and sent over as its agent Beresford, who founded a notable Anglo-Irish family.

The work went on slowly, but Derry and Coleraine were rebuilt. The whole estate was divided among the twelve city guilds—merchant taylors, skinners, haberdashers, and the rest; but the towns and rights over forests and fisheries were retained by the parent committee of the City of London, which came to be called the Irish Society. In mark of the association Derry was now named Londonderry.

This was the most real and solid thing in the plantation of Ulster. Most of the grants of lands were taken up by speculators, who sought to resell their bargain. By 1628 there were only some 7000 men of British origin in the six confiscated counties; for the most part the undertakers found it profitable to sublet illegally to Irish tenants to whom they could give no lease. Thus the English or Scottish settlers, whether they held a grant of land or a lease, had a secure position in law; and from this privileged status there grew up in Ulster a custom affecting the whole tenure of land by

recognition of what came to be called "tenant right"—the right to sell the goodwill of his holding. On the other hand, the vast majority of the Irish made a precarious living out of land for which they were yearly bidding against each other and of which they had no secure possession. Eviction, a chance to which no man was exposed in the old Gaelic order, was now the native Irish farmer's natural lot in life. The better he farmed his land, the more completely was he in the power of a landlord who could order him to leave what his industry had created.

A new element too was introduced with the Scotch settlers. James was clannish in support of their interests, and a large number of them came to Ulster. The two counties of Antrim and Down, in which the Scots had won a foothold during the Tudor period in defiance of English power, were untouched by the confiscations in Ulster, and the presence of these fellow-countrymen was an invitation to other Scots. Many of the newcomers were Presbyterians, and as the attempt to impose uniformity in religion on Scotland grew stronger, more and more of them flocked to Ireland, where the State was too busy in keeping down Catholics to trouble with Protestant dissentients. The Scots too tended more than the English to intermarry with Irishwomen, and they became more readily naturalised. On the whole it is clear that a much larger proportion of Scots than of English came with the intention of permanent settlement and the disposition to make a living by their own labour. They stood the climate and hard conditions better than the English, and, broadly speaking, their descendants have made Protestant Ulster; as the Ulster speech, so near to Scots, testifies to-day.

It is doubtful, however, whether the original settlement in Ulster was the main source of this Scottish element in Irish life. The counties of Down and Antrim are to-day by far the most strongly Protestant, and least native Irish. These were expressly excluded from the Plantation—probably because they were largely in the hands of Scots. But these Scots were purely Gaelic, and were Catholic.

In estimating the effects of the Plantation policy, it has to be remembered that the first settlers in Ulster, except the wealthy men who made a speculation of acquiring estates to lease out, were, as an early writer on Ulster said, "the scum of both nations"—men who "for debt or breaking and fleeing

from justice, or seeking shelter, come hither" ; it was one of the worst expressions of disdain to tell a man that "Ireland would be his hinder end." Such settlers were little likely to gain a welcome from the natives among whom they settled. In the original population, dispossessed and living precariously with restricted land where before they had an undisturbed tenure, the sense of injustice was bound to rankle deep ; while the proscription of their religion added to the bitterness, and the priests of that religion, living and working among their people at the risk of their lives, could not in human nature be expected to do anything but foster the discontent. Chichester, whose counsel had been neglected, foretold a terrible rebellion at the earliest opportunity. It did not come so soon as he predicted. The memory of what was suffered in the last years of Elizabeth, and of the dreadful sequel to O'Doherty's abortive rising, could not soon die out. Ireland, in the north as in the south, lay to all appearance submissive, except that there was hardly even a pretence of conformity in religion.

The attempt to enforce conformity by levying illegal fines on outstanding individuals was made under James, and it failed and was abandoned. When a Parliament was summoned in 1613, after twenty years' discontinuance, the recusants, those who refused to conform, were numerous and powerful among its members. Yet the Catholics who attended this Parliament showed no disposition to oppose the destruction of the old Gaelic order. Not one of them spoke against the Bill of Attainder of Tyrone and the other northern chiefs, which passed unanimously, thus giving the sanction of an Irish Parliament to the Ulster confiscations.

But these men, for the most part gentry of the Pale, did not represent the old Irish Catholic nation, which had in a great measure undergone a process that unified it. With the disappearance of the old tribal kingdoms there disappeared also the distinction between men of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, as of Thomond and Desmond. All were regarded by the Government as one people, "mere Irish" and Catholics, who on both grounds were deprived of many rights possessed by everyone in Ireland who could claim to be of English birth and of the Protestant religion.

In this way all native Ireland, placed outside the law, began to be converted into one vast secret society which kept

its secrets rigorously from those who lived among it. Boyle, the first Lord Cork, the most successful of all English adventurers who came to Ireland for gain, was a shrewd man and he wrote in this period :

> " I cannot say—and no statesman in this age can say it—that I know Ireland well. Bad communications and the Papist influence keep the body of it estranged from us."

The same observation might have been made by any of those who governed Ireland from that day forward, though not many of them were intelligent enough to realise their limitations. From that day forward Ireland became a country governed by rulers who never fully belonged to it, who were never in complete and free communication with " the body of it." The next sentence in this letter of Boyle's illustrates the degree of misunderstanding which thus became possible. " But I have known Ireland for forty-three years and never saw it so quiet. . . . Contentment is in fact general." This was written in 1630, ten years before the outbreak of a much bloodier war than Tyrone's.

CHAPTER XXIV

STRAFFORD'S ADMINISTRATION

THE seventeenth century opened in Ireland with forty years of peace—in itself an inestimable boon. Lord Cork's letter, already quoted in the last chapter, gives a picture of what he saw :—

"The great lords of the Irish who formerly had a great following are all gone. The rebellious spirits are not to be seen, and have no armies. There is no more barbarism and plunder. The Irish gentry have got titles from the king, or by currency of law, and no longer depend upon their great lords. There is a marvellous change from the state of things which old inhabitants can remark. Buildings and farming are improving, each man striving to excel the other in fair building and furniture, and in husbandry, enclosing and improving their lands. I wish there were foreign employment to keep the well-born Irish youth busy and trades to occupy the young men of meaner sort. The walled towns are almost altogether inhabited by the ancient English, and these old colonists are, I think, more loyal than otherwise, and they like peace, which is good for their trade and estates. Contentment is in fact general."

Why, then, did the pacification not stand? Why was Ireland within the century twice ruined with long and bloody wars?

Peace can never be stable unless it rests on justice. Without going into the question as to whether England was justly entitled to rule in Ireland, English rule in Ireland might and should have conformed to those standards of justice which Englishmen of the period recognised. Unhappily, it did not.

Much in that rule which seems to our ideas fundamentally unjust did not seem so to that age. The position of Irish

Catholics under the Stuarts was not worse than that of Protestants under Catholic rulers in the Europe of that day. But elsewhere, minorities were persecuted. The Catholic Irish suffered religious disabilities amounting to persecution in their own country, where they were the vast majority. Disaffection of the mass of the people to the persecuting Government was inevitable.

Again, although the peace was not seriously broken between 1602 and 1641—for Cahir O'Doherty's insurrection was brief and local—yet the whole policy and action of the Government inevitably bred unrest. In this period the whole traditional Gaelic order of society was finally destroyed. Ireland was deprived of its hereditary ruling class and its traditional system of law; finally, and gravest of all, its rights in the land itself were assailed and in one province destroyed.

As to the abolition of native dynasties, it may be said that to substitute one uniform system of government under a strong central rule in place of a multitude of small personal chieftaincies was a gain. Yet under their local lords the Irish were governed by men who shared their tradition and sympathies; rulers and ruled were of one kind. The Government was now everywhere alien, and more felt as alien in those regions which till recently had been under Gaelic rule.

A more serious change was the abolition of Brehon law. That law was cheap; it was understood by the people, its processes were not dilatory, and by the testimony of Sir John Davies, written in the reign of James I., it gave satisfaction. English statesmen contended that judges of assize administering a uniform code in Courts throughout the country were more impartial than the Brehons, whom they declared to be completely under the influence of the native rulers. Unfortunately, the judges were beyond question used as instruments of the English Government to effect wholesale confiscations for the benefit of the Crown; and it is not credible that with such standards as then prevailed impartial justice was done between Englishman and Irishman, Catholic and Protestant, or between poor and rich. We have seen in the last century British rule in India gain a real power from the fact that its administration, even if it were unsympathetic, gave impartial justice in causes and was clean-handed beyond the native standards. Had such an administration been established in Ireland during the peaceful period under James

and Charles I., the settlement might never have been seriously imperilled. But the new law did not in practice bring the weak and the strong into any sort of equality before it : all the injustices of principle which underlay a conquest, coupled with the penalising of those who professed the religion of the conquered, were made more bitter by the injustice in every detail of administration.

At best, settlement would have been difficult to achieve. When the old tribal rulers were transformed into territorial magnates a whole class of persons was left stranded. These were the well-born Irish youths of whom Lord Cork spoke, kinsmen of the rulers, who were essentially men of war and who by tradition regarded any other employment as dishonourable. The tribal rulers, enforcing their rights by power of the sword, had needed their services and consequently willingly maintained them ; but now the tribal rulers, like anyone else, must appeal to process of law. It was impossible to provide all these men with estates on which they could live by other people's labour, and they were not skilled in the direction of any peaceful enterprise ; as soldiers, England dare not employ them in Ireland, except a comparatively small number. This made a permanently discontented element. In 1625 a small conspiracy among some of the O'Cahans and O'Neills was the work of such men—inevitably anxious to restore the old order, in which they would return to their natural place and its privileges. Throughout the whole of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it may be said that this class, though vanishing, was a constant source of unrest.

Yet these were a small minority of the Irish people, and doubtless many among them might have been gradually transformed into useful owners and workers of land, had provision of land been made. The land was there, and Government undertook the distribution of it. It is here that the complete denial of justice took place. The root of the Irish trouble was not religion, but England's dealing with Irish land, which made intolerable the hardships imposed on Irish Catholics.

Except the land, there was nothing for Irishmen to live by. The artisan class was very small, and, as Lord Cork saw, lack of employment other than agriculture for the poorer Irish was one of the great dangers. What the English

Government did was to take from the Irish people, over great tracts of Ireland, their means of living.

The policy of the Stuart period was a policy of plantations. We have seen how this policy began in Mary's reign with King's County and Queen's County : in Elizabeth's there had been the vast confiscations and resettlement after the Desmond rebellion. These, however, were wiped out in the later war and left little trace. Under James there was the plantation of Ulster already described. For it there was at least the pretext of Irish rebellion alleged to justify the plunder. But under Charles I. new plantations were definitely started in a time of entire peace.

Process of law succeeded in establishing first that all the land in North Wexford belonged by a legal fiction to the Crown. All this was partitioned out. In all 390 native Irish were established as freeholders ; 14,500 other Irish remained on the land, and all these were liable to be turned off at the will of those to whom it was granted, or of those to whom the grantees should transfer their grants. Rothe, the Catholic Bishop of Kilkenny, wrote at the time his judgment of this transaction : " The Viceroy ought to have looked clear before he suggested an imperfect and shaky title to the King as a foundation for his new right, and before he drove from their well-established and ancient possessions harmless poor natives encumbered with many children and with no powerful friends. They have no wealth but flocks and herds, know no trade but agriculture or pasture, they are unlearned men without human help or protection. Yet, though unarmed, they are so active in mind and body that it is dangerous to drive them from their ancestral seats. They have been deprived of weapons, but are in a temper to fight with nails and heels and to tear their oppressors with their teeth. Since these Leinstermen and others like them see themselves excluded from all hopes of restitution or compensation, they will fight for their altars and hearths."

The same process was repeated in Longford and in Leitrim. Later still, in 1628, a further plantation was planned to cover South Wicklow and the adjoining territory. As a preliminary, the Deputy, Falkland, endeavoured to work up charges of a conspiracy against the chief of the O'Byrnes. The measures used were such that after Falkland had arrested Phelim O'Byrne, with five of his sons and other Irishmen, scandal

grew, and a commission was appointed to inquire. The result was to establish that evidence of conspiracy had been procured by threats, and by actual torture of witnesses, and that the grand jury who found against the O'Byrnes were interested in acquiring the lands. The O'Byrnes were released and not deprived of all their lands; but the persons who had organised the plot got goodly shares.

These settlements did not, like the Ulster ones, bring in a large and valuable element of immigrants. Their purpose was to extort money by fines for fresh titles, and in many cases to raise it by granting land in Irish Catholic occupation to Protestant English, who made the native Irish their tenants at will. The occupation of the soil was little altered; those who occupied and tilled or pastured it were degraded in their status and deprived of their profit. All the plantations under Charles were schemes for enriching the Crown and for endowing Protestants at the expense of Catholics. "All Protestants are for plantations, all the others against them," said a Lord-Deputy. The continuance and extension of this process made it impossible that Ireland should acquiesce tranquilly in the rule which it knew.

Confiscation received a new and terrible impulse when the ablest man who served Charles I., Thomas Wentworth, Lord Strafford, became Lord-Deputy in 1632. He claimed for the Crown the whole of Connaught. This was the province in which it was least untrue to say (in Lord Cork's phrase) that "the Irish gentry had got titles from the king or by currency of law." The composition arranged by Perrott had covered nearly the whole of Connaught and Clare, and the Irish lords and minor chiefs had on the whole been satisfied. Strafford proposed to assail all their titles. In Roscommon, Sligo, and Mayo the grand juries, under the most violent threats, found that the king was entitled to all the land in each county and could dispose of it at his pleasure. The jurors of County Galway were less amenable; perhaps confiding in the influence of Lord Clanricarde, who had contributed most to win the battle of Kinsale. They found against the Crown's title. Wentworth fined them £4000 each, with imprisonment till the fine should be paid. Under this compulsion they yielded, and all land in Connaught came to lie at the king's mercy; no man, big or little, had a secure tenure of a sod.

Strafford was admittedly one of the ablest men of his age, and his administration in Ireland, which lasted seven years, belongs rather to English than to Irish history. It marks the climax in the long attempt to attain absolute power for the Crown. His purpose in Ireland was to make the sovereign independent of Parliament. Under Elizabeth and under James, though many Englishmen had enriched themselves at the expense of Ireland, Ireland had always cost the Crown something; its revenue did not meet the expenditure. Strafford set himself, first, to make Ireland pay for the cost of administration, and even to produce a balance; and, secondly, to raise an army in Ireland which should be absolutely at the King's disposal. His success led to his ruin. But in Ireland, which had never known any semblance of constitutional or parliamentary government, the real issue that ended in Strafford's death was probably never understood. The effect which, undoubtedly, Strafford produced was to convince Ireland by conclusive proofs that the rule of a central English Government, untrammelled by the opposing power of native princes, could be as capricious, arbitrary, and unjust as that of the worst tribal despot. Forms of constitutional government were produced before the eyes of Ireland; but with an accompaniment that turned them to sinister mockery. Trial by jury is no doubt a good thing; but when the jurors are fined like the Galway men for a verdict unpleasing to the Crown, or, as happened in other cases, have holes bored in their tongues with hot irons, is trial by jury worth much to the public? Again, the new order theoretically introduced to Ireland a state of things in which representative institutions should count largely. All that Ireland knew of parliaments since the Tudors began was that these assemblies were summoned to ratify confiscation. One of the two held under Henry VIII. had declared the Geraldines of Kildare forfeit; the other had suppressed the monastic institutions. Mary's Parliament had authorised the plantation of Leix and Offaly; under Elizabeth, Parliament had established the Church which was not that of Irishmen, had declared Ulster subject to the Crown, and had decreed the Desmond forfeitures. That of James had confiscated six Ulster counties. Yet in that of James the movement which in England was leading up to a great struggle for freedom made itself felt in Ireland also. Government showed apprehension in advance by

creating boroughs to secure a majority in its own interest : an opposition at once appeared which vigorously challenged this action. The opposition achieved little, but the keen interest in the growth of parliamentary power which pervaded England extended itself to Ireland. Irishmen began from this point onward to contemplate resistance by constitutional weapons. The summoning of an Irish Parliament was desired and demanded from the beginning of Charles I.'s reign ; but the King desired to avoid it, and caused an assembly of notables to be called instead. To this assembly was made originally the promise of certain "graces," which pledged the King to a limited toleration for Catholics and also guaranteed that no title to land which had held good for sixty years should be challenged by the Crown. In return the assembly agreed to grant a subsidy of £120,000. It was agreed that a parliament should be held to carry out both sides of this compact. No parliament was held, the graces were not granted, but the money was raised, and paid by instalments of £30,000. When this revenue was secured Strafford became Lord-Deputy. A parliament was still demanded, and after two years Strafford advised that one should be held. When it came to be held in 1634, the influence of the Crown, through its control of the many boroughs created under James, secured that there should be a Protestant majority, but a Catholic minority was returned strong enough to keep Protestants anxious for their position. By his domineering personality, combined with adroit management of men, Strafford contrived to make the parliament a mere instrument for raising money. Yet he could not prevent the Catholic opposition from seizing an occasion when it found itself in the majority to demand the promised graces. Protestants, as well as Catholics, had an interest in securing that a title of sixty years' standing should be secure against disturbance ; and the Deputy was not slow to confront and even provoke the opposition of strong Protestant forces. In the interest of the King's service he did his best to put down official corruption, and to see that the money levied in Ireland came actually to the revenue. This brought him into collision with the corrupt adventurers, of whom Lord Cork was the supreme type.

But the Lord-Deputy quarrelled also with the main body of those who, by the policy of James I., had become a great element in the population of Ulster. In Scotland, Charles I. and

Laud were seeking to enforce religious uniformity ; they were met by the Covenant and by armed resistance of the nation. Strafford on his part dealt with the Scots settled in Ulster, and imposed upon them what is known as the Black Oath, binding them to implicit obedience to the King and to renounce all covenants not ordered by him. The result was to drive many Scottish settlers into flight to the mountains and to Scotland. This was an aspect of his policy of " thorough." On its financial side, the predatory inquest into titles was directed against the City of London for its Ulster holding. The terms of the holding had not been observed ; Irish tenants had been accepted instead of English, the stipulated buildings had not been completed. The Corporation offered the huge forfeit of £30,000, but the Lord-Lieutenant relied on his courts ; and from them he got an award of a fine of £70,000 and forfeiture of the estates. Good or bad, the settlers of Londonderry and Coleraine, and the Scots farmers, were the best thing brought to Ireland by the policy of plantation ; and Strafford quarrelled with both. The division of the English interest in Ireland between Episcopalian and Nonconformist began from this day, and there resulted a temporary drawing together of Presbyterians and Catholics, destined to repeat itself.

It has been said that Ulster owes him much for his encouragement of the linen industry. The prospectus addressed to the London Corporation in 1610 shows that flax-growing was well established in Ulster a generation before Strafford came to Ireland, and the weaving of linen had been always traditional among Irishmen. The purpose on which Strafford was really set was different ; it was to destroy the Irish manufacture of woollen stuffs in order that Ireland should export its raw wool and reimport the woven stuff—thus paying two custom duties, neither of which would be payable if the manufacture were in Ireland.

It is probable that Strafford's concern was simply to raise revenue, and that he had not the further purpose of promoting the English industrial interest by keeping Ireland merely a land for supply of raw material ; yet that was the tendency of this policy. In another matter, however, he served the interests of Irish trade well. From the beginning of the century the Irish coast had been increasingly infested by pirates, mainly English ; but the most horrible incident

in this chapter of history was the sack of Baltimore by Moorish galleys from Algiers in June 1630. The town was surprised at dawn, some sixty houses plundered, and over a hundred people carried off to slavery. Bad as this was, the constant hampering of Irish commerce was perhaps of greater injury to Ireland ; Ireland was not in a position to protect its own trade, and till Strafford's coming it got no help from England. In this matter at least he afforded the country the advantage of possessing a strong central power which put down piracy effectually.

Such a ruler was naturally concerned to see that the army should be efficient and well administered. During the first year of his viceroyalty he contented himself with securing the completeness and discipline of a small standing force composed entirely of Protestants. He was well aware that such a policy as he pursued, by making the tenure of all property insecure, must specially alarm the Catholics for even what was left to them ; and, consequently, that to arm and train Irish Catholics must be a danger. It is noteworthy that this fear never operated under Elizabeth ; the old tribal military system still existing made it certain that there would be in Ireland many thousand trained Irish fighters, and Mountjoy and Carew met the danger by enrolling them. From the period of James I. onward it was possible for English rulers to hope that the Catholic majority of Irishmen would be unarmed and untrained to war ; and it became a principle of British policy to keep them so. Yet under James and Charles I. there was still the problem of the Irish swordsman, the traditional military class. Chichester sought to meet the difficulty by inducing them to carry their swords abroad. But England's European policy made it undesirable to strengthen any Catholic army, and Chichester at first sought to recruit them for the Protestant army of Sweden. Most of the men recruited refused to leave Ireland ; the service did not attract them ; and later the King of Poland was allowed to send recruiting agents to Ireland. He was a Catholic sovereign, but his wars were mainly against the Turks, and it was considered that Irishmen might be used for this service without danger to Protestantism. Later, under Charles I. when the international situation was less governed by religious differences, there grew up a practice of allowing Spain and France, then at peace with England, to enlist men

also ; and these services presented a very attractive aspect to Ireland. Exiled Irishmen were already plenty in both countries ; it has been seen that Tyrone's son had in 1607 a regiment of Irish in the Netherlands. Irishmen of the Pale also found their way abroad ; in Strafford's Irish period, Owen Roe O'Neill and Preston, son of Lord Gormanstown, held high command in Flanders. The family connections of such men made it natural that officers sent to recruit volunteers for the foreign legion should carry letters from them to their kindred and friends. So the way was open to much secret correspondence, which the Catholic priests helped and augmented. Strafford was fully aware of the danger, and warned Charles that two hundred of these Irish, " being natives and experienced in their own faculty as soldiers," if sent to raise and train their own countrymen against the Crown, might give more " travail and disturbance " than as many Spaniards as were sent to Kinsale.

Yet Strafford, being what he was, could not think solely of Ireland's peace when the King's authority was menaced in Great Britain. In 1639, when the Scottish army formed up under Leslie to oppose the King, an Irish regiment of five hundred was demanded to garrison Carlisle. One of Strafford's picked battalions was sent over, and its excellence was so plain that Charles determined on raising an Irish army of eight thousand. Strafford had already got together the necessary equipment. His first design was to raise Protestants only. But the men were wanted in a hurry, for in 1640 the Scots had crossed the Border, and Catholics were much easier to get. One thousand Protestants from the old army were selected to be the nucleus and provide the cadres for the new army. The greater part of the commanding officers were, however, Catholics of the Pale. Some of the old Irish too had companies, and one of these was Rory O'More, of whom much has to be said.

The force which Strafford raised was never brought to England, where events moved too quickly. Charles gave way and summoned the Long Parliament, which met while the Scots were still encamped in the north on English soil. But the formation and existence of the Irish force made a profound effect on English opinion, now embodied in the new Parliament, and this was one of the main causes which led to Strafford's downfall. Englishmen had been taught by the

Government's policy in Ireland to regard the Irish as an inferior and savage race ; they viewed these Irish troops much as Germans in the Great War viewed the French African contingents, and the mere suggestion that Strafford had proposed to use them " to reduce this kingdom to obedience " embittered terribly the feelings of Englishmen against Ireland. To placate England, Strafford's levies were disbanded in May 1641. One thousand of them took service with France and left Ireland. The rest, defrauded of most of their pay, went quietly back to their homes—trained soldiers.

Before their dispersal had commenced, Strafford's head was off. A main count in the indictment of him was furnished by the remonstrance from the Irish Parliament against his conduct as Deputy. This triumph of the opposition sprang from a league between Irish Puritans and Irish Catholics. Yet that league had no real cement ; and the proceedings against Strafford made civil war inevitable in England. It was equally inevitable that the discontented in Ireland should count upon England's being paralysed at home, and should seek to get rid of that rule which was the cause of their discontent. Strafford had done nothing to induce either Catholic Ireland or Gaelic Ireland to settle down peacefully under English rule ; he had done his part to render discontent acute and justified throughout Ireland. Finally, by fitting Ireland with a body of men ready for war, he had laid a train to the powder.

CHAPTER XXV

THE REBELLION OF 1641

A PROTESTANT bishop, speaking in August 1921, said: "There is unhappily no history in Ireland. All the events of the past three centuries are living vital facts. So far as the people of the present day are concerned, all those events are happening to-day."

The first fact about Ireland, after that of the Norman conquest, known to almost any English-speaking Protestant is the massacre of Ulster Protestants in 1641. Nothing before or since has affected the Protestant mind with the same force. Yet when the fact is known, less than half the truth about it is perceived or understood. Effort should be made by students of history to face this disastrous episode frankly, and comprehend it.

No candid man who approves the rebellion against the Stuarts can blame the Irish for rebelling against the English Government. What England suffered under the Stuarts was trivial compared to the oppression placed upon the Irish. No native Irishman could under English rule count upon the free exercise of his religion; none could feel secure in possession of his property, or in his way of living. Even the titles to property quite recently established by English law were being destroyed by operation of that law. Peaceful acceptance of English rule gave no security. A general pardon and amnesty was declared under James I.; seven years of peace followed, and then suddenly Irishmen all over Ulster found their property confiscated, though there had been no rebellion. The best of the soil was taken wholesale from the natives and given to imported strangers. A generation had passed since the Ulster plantation; but the majority of grown-up men and women remembered perfectly that

upheaval. They saw lands which they had occupied possessed by these immigrants, and they knew no reason why they were deprived, except that they were Catholic and Irish. It cannot be argued that any moral consideration should have made them loyal to the Government imposed on them by force; and it would be absurd to expect that Irishmen should have felt bound by allegiance to a king whose authority was now questioned by those very subjects of his own country for whose benefit they had been dispossessed.

The spirit of revolt was undoubtedly fostered by Catholic priests, and they cannot be blamed for their action. They saw the English State using every engine of power to force the Catholic Irish into abandoning their religion; as Catholics they believed that Catholics who, for material considerations, forsook Catholicism would incur damnation; and as priests it was their duty to use all honest means to prevent this. History does not teach that rebellion is never justifiable, or is a dishonest means to secure freedom and justice—both of which were denied to the Irish of that day. But both history and morality teach that men should not take a people into rebellion without a reasonable chance of success.

The dissensions in England, and the union among Catholics in Ireland produced by oppression of their religion, combined to create a chance of successful revolt; but great difficulties had to be faced. Catholics were everywhere in a vast majority throughout Ireland. But the resentment against injustice was most sharply felt in the planted areas, and the policy of plantation was to create an armed British population among the disarmed Irish. In Ulster this armed alien element was much stronger and more numerous than elsewhere; the enterprise of expelling it was more difficult and dangerous. It could only be effected by organising a sudden and simultaneous rising, in which the unarmed majority would overpower the aliens before they could come together in arms. To bring this about, long and secret conspiracy was necessary; and Catholics had to be taught to conceal their intentions from Protestant neighbours among whom they lived at peace. Such conduct will always be called treachery by those who suffer from it; if the necessity for it be too prolonged, it will breed a habit of treachery; and every instance in which it has been practised breeds a suspicion of treachery which prolongation renders inveterate.

The conspiracy of 1641 was an attempt to organise the unarmed cultivators against the owners of land. It was in some measure a jacquerie, or revolt of peasants against oppressive masters, and such risings have always in all countries been deeply tainted with brutality. But it was in essence an attempt of the original owners to recover lands of which they had been deprived within recent memory, and of the inhabitants at large to regain ascendancy for their religion, which was undergoing persecution. It was therefore a revolt, not of a class but of the whole native population, with whom were joined most of the Catholic element among the older English settlers. It could command the service of all those who in the Gaelic state had been a warrior class. But it had no arms.

It had, however, military officers in considerable numbers, and these men promoted an attempt which, if successful, would have provided the insurgents with an ample supply of arms. This part of the conspiracy, however, failed disgracefully.

Strafford had made Dublin Castle an arsenal containing over thirty cannon and muskets, powder, and match for 10,000 men. The Deputy whom he appointed to replace him on his going to England was dead, and under the administration of two Lords Justices, Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase, military precautions had been neglected: the force in guard of the castle was only 48 men. To seize the place was a project naturally suggested by colonels who had been in command of the regiments raised by Strafford and disbanded after his execution.

The chief conspirator was Rory O'More, a gentleman of the clan which had been dispossessed in Leix at the establishment of Queen's County. He was married to a daughter of Sir Patrick Barnewall, and had many connections in the Pale. He found his leading recruits among the northern Gaelic nobles, Lord Maguire of Fermanagh, Sir Phelim O'Neill of Tyrone, and MacMahon of Monaghan. With these were Colonel Sir James Dillon, Colonel Hugh O'Byrne, and Colonel Richard Plunket. Owen Roe O'Neill in Flanders was in constant touch with them by envoys, and was looked to for the chief command when he should arrive.

The plan was that on Saturday, October 23rd, two parties of a hundred men each should rush the two castle gates, and

that there should be a simultaneous outbreak all over the country. Sir Phelim O'Neill was to seize Derry.

One of the MacMahons, whose mother had been daughter of the great Tyrone, had a relative called Owen O'Connolly. O'Connolly was a Protestant married to an Englishwoman. To him Hugh MacMahon imparted his inclination to rebel. It is worth remembering that MacMahon complained of insolence from his neighbour Mr Aldridge, an ex-publican, who had been made Justice of the Peace, but would not shake hands with him when they met at court, where MacMahon was also a magistrate. That illustrates one aspect of the many petty causes which inflame relations between conquerors and conquered. O'Connolly was summoned to Dublin for October 22nd, rode up and joined MacMahon, and was taken to Lord Maguire, from whom he heard the whole plan. The men then adjourned to a tavern ; O'Connolly, having encouraged them to drink, managed to escape and reported the whole to Parsons.

The conspirators had already discovered that only eighty of the promised two hundred men would be forthcoming for the enterprise, but they had decided to go on. In the course of the night, while Maguire, who was to have commanded one party of the attack, was fuddling himself, O'More got word that the secret was betrayed, and he warned Maguire at his lodgings. Maguire and MacMahon, however, were both captured, being presumably too drunk to escape. O'More and the rest got away, but they dared not attempt to rush the castle, even though no other body of troops than its guard was at hand. A competent soldier, Sir Francis Willoughby, was in Dublin and took charge ; but for a fortnight he could do nothing but recruit a few men.

Sir Phelim O'Neill failed also to surprise Derry. But Newry was taken, with some arms and powder ; and all over Ulster the rising was sudden and unresisted, except in the walled towns. On the Saturday at midnight Lord Blayney rode into Dublin from Monaghan to say that his family were prisoners, and that towns and houses had been sacked and burned. A couple of days later began the entry of those who had fled on foot, some almost naked, spent with hunger and fatigue, and women bringing tales of husbands murdered before their eyes. Many died of exposure on the roads, for it was winter ; others succumbed after reaching Dublin.

The climax was the news of a wholesale massacre on the bridge at Portadown, when over a hundred persons, including women and children, were forced into the river.

It is quite clear that this killing was not according to plan ; equally clear that a plan which involves the rising of a whole province against a scattered class of its ordinary inhabitants can never be carried out according to plan. Brutal ferocity of individuals may break loose at any point, and such ferocity spreads like an evil contagion. Wherever Protestants had the power to take vengeance, they did their best to outdo the Catholics in savagery. In the first days of the rebellion no attack was made on the Scots, who were the majority of the occupying tenants ; they were advised to write over their doors that they were Scots. Yet in January the Scots of Antrim carried out a massacre of Catholics at Island Magee on a scale comparable to that at Portadown. Any history of the Indian Mutiny will show how in quite modern times a civilised power felt and acted under the stimulus of fury when a conquered race rose and slaughtered garrisons and scattered posts of their conquerors, and women and children were among the victims. The actual count of Protestants dead by sword or by hardship can never be established. Froude, whose bias is well known, puts it at about 20,000 ; Lecky, about 8000. It was in any case vastly less than the number of Irish put to the sword or starved to death during the last years of the war against Tyrone ; and if savagery can ever excuse savagery, the memory of English action in Elizabeth's reign may palliate what was done by the Irish under Charles. Yet, as a historical fact, no race of conquerors has ever allowed deeds done by the conquered in rebellion to be palliated by memory of what they themselves had committed during the work of conquest. Moreover, at this time in England's development, there was a special inducement to magnify tenfold horrors which in themselves were bad enough. The Parliamentary party desired to alienate public support from the King. They had made much capital out of the fact that an army of Irish Catholics was raised for use in England. The Irish rebels were now represented as the King's allies ; for their own purposes, they professed to act in the King's name ; and therefore Pym and his friends had a strong political reason to paint their deeds in the blackest colours. It is perhaps the earliest example of what has continued through

English party strife—the tendency of one English party to prejudice English opinion against Ireland, for the purpose of injuring their English political opponents.

The propaganda was dreadfully successful, and it is certain that Englishmen generally came to believe that some two hundred thousand persons of their own blood and religion had been brutally done to death. The existence of this belief was a terrible factor in all the subsequent history of Ireland—a factor still operative for evil.

Moreover, even when an intention to save life was manifest, other circumstances produced equal fury. In Cavan some fifteen hundred persons were driven out of their homes and herded together. It was the O'Reilly's country, and an O'Reilly was High Sheriff; he took command. All the English were escorted by his orders as far as Cavan, but when they left the town they were stripped of all, even their clothing; delicately bred women suffering the common fate. After such news, men see red. War which began under such conditions inevitably became a war wholly different in kind and temper from the contemporary civil war in England.

Yet the worst consequences of this evil business produced themselves, because the rebellion failed. Had Ireland won its freedom at that period, the whole would have faded out of sight like so many other horrors in history. Because Ireland's struggle for freedom had to be prolonged through centuries, the memory of these deeds kept their influence for evil alive. Yet it is clear that the rebellion gave Ireland a real chance to win freedom, and that the only part of the rebellion which succeeded was the general rising against the scattered planters, which could not have been undertaken successfully otherwise than by this simultaneous revolt of the native people. The persons most responsible for the horrors of the rebellion are those who produced a situation in which Ireland must inevitably and justifiably rebel.

The one episode which redeems the early stages of this rebellion and of the war following is the story of Bishop Bedell. Since a great part of the inhabitants of Ireland were destined to be Protestant, no man could do a greater service than prove to the heart of Ireland that Protestantism also might breed in its followers the essential spirit of Christianity. It was not easy in that terrible time for a Protestant divine to touch the imagination of Catholic Ireland, yet Bedell

by the last days of his life, on which his death set the final seal, achieved this; and that piece of history lives with the rest, still doing something to reconcile deep and bitter dissension.

This was not Bedell's only service to Ireland. Like every sincere Christian of his tenets, he believed supremely in the value of the Bible, and he thought that to give the native Irish the Scriptures in their own tongue would be the best of gifts. At his expense, under his supervision, there was carried out a rendering of the Bible into Irish. His death delayed the publication; but for more than two hundred and fifty years it was the sole version of the Scriptures accessible to those who knew only Gaelic. Bedell's house in Cavan became a shelter for Protestant refugees, and when he was ordered to expel them he refused. Muskets were set to his breast, but he told the men to fire, and they had not the heart to do it. In his house divine service was regularly performed, and when safe convoy to Dublin was offered, he refused to leave his post. Finally the Catholic Bishop of Kilmore insisted on getting possession of the Episcopal palace, and Bedell was forced to leave it for a prison on an island in Lough Oughter, where he and his spent Christmas in windowless rooms. Then they were exchanged for other prisoners, and went to the house of a native Irish Protestant clergyman near by, who had not been molested, although he was a convert or son of a convert. Other fugitives crowded to the house; typhus appeared among them, and Bedell, ministering to the sick, caught the disease. When he died, the Catholic bishop raised objection to burying him in Kilmore churchyard; but the heads of the O'Reilly clan overruled him, and they sent a firing-party to the funeral. Miles O'Reilly, who had launched the rebellion in Cavan, told the bishop's sons that they should use what prayers and rites they pleased, no one should interrupt them. A salute of honour was fired by the rebels over the grave, and it is said that among the crowd of Irish mourners were some priests, one of whom cried out: "*Sit anima mea cum Bedello*" ("May my soul be with the soul of Bedell").

CHAPTER XXVI

THE CONFEDERATION OF KILKENNY

The long disastrous struggle which began with the rising of 1641 and ended in Cromwell's dreadful victory is so complicated in its details, both from a military and a political point of view, that it can only be superficially sketched. Yet it must be studied with care, because with it begins the history of the Irish nation as we know it to-day.

It was unlike other wars between the English and the Irish, because England and Ireland were both in a period of transition. When, after a generation, the conflict renewed itself, the transition in both countries was still in progress, but had advanced a long way. Ireland was more like, and England much more like, to its present constitution.

Essentially, the position at issue was brutally simple. It was, and it had been with increasing clearness since the policy of plantations began, the claim of the English to take land from the Irish and use it themselves. In many parts of the world the English race has made the same claim, and history has justified it by their superior efficiency. Nobody disputes that the taking of North America from the Red Indians or of Australia from the native blacks was justified from the standpoint of humanity, because nobody believes that the indigenous people could ever have used the lands as they came to be used by the more civilised conquerors. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Englishmen clearly persuaded or endeavoured to persuade themselves that they had the same rights and justifications against the native Irish as against the American Indians, and they were prepared to use the same methods. A great Englishman, Sir Charles Dilke, said more than fifty years ago that the English have always been an exterminating people. History, which admits,

if it does not approve, what they did in America, Australia, or (less brutally) in New Zealand, has never admitted the justification for their action in Ireland, because there is no sign or proof that the English have made of Ireland something completely other and better than the Irish could have made of it if left to themselves. Had the difference between the races been the same in kind as that between Northern European and North American Indians, there is no doubt that the English would have exterminated and replaced the Irish. They did not, because they could not. The will to do it was there, and this is the fact which underlies the whole history of these years. Spenser's *View of the State of Ireland*, written in 1598, was only published in 1632 ; it recommended extirpation, and had a great popularity.

Such a disposition in one people towards another will always seek to justify and maintain itself by emphasising and exaggerating the inferiority of those whose dispossession is desired. Ireland, as compared with England, was undoubtedly backward in civilisation at this time, from whatever causes, and a sign of this backwardness was found in the Irish practice of attaching the plough to horses' tails. English laws were passed, most justifiably, to prohibit this practice ; but an immense deal was made of it in controversy to prove that the Irish were irreclaimable barbarians, as savage as the Indians.

It was, however, clear that the native Irish, unlike the native Indians, were Christians. Unhappily, at this period of European history a different form of Christianity from their own was regarded by most Christians with more detestation than heathenism. The view which undoubtedly, and in a sense viciously, possessed the minds of Englishmen regarded Romanism as a poisonous superstition.

Finally, to clench all arguments to justify the more advanced civilisation in blotting out its opponent, there was the fierce plea of revenge, directed against race and religion alike. The rising of 1641 was a rising of the native Irish, largely engineered by Catholic priests. Its effect was represented as a wholesale massacre of Protestant English. Every incentive combined to dispose the English to slaughter their enemies and divide the spoil. Ireland was much easier of access than America, and, since the plantations had begun, offered much more conspicuous examples of enrichment.

Richard Boyle, who came to Ireland in 1588 with twenty-seven pounds in his pocket, had, by judicious seeking for claims in his own right, and still more by buying up the claims of others to confiscated land, reached to such wealth that his income by 1640 was estimated at fifty pounds a day. He was then Earl of Cork, with four sons, all likewise raised to the peerage.

Also, with the development of modern civilisation in England, stock-jobbing had become a factor in policy. Joint-stock companies began to be formed to undertake and exploit conquest in Ireland, as in America. Financial speculation played, for its own reasons, the same part in promoting a war of annexation in Ireland during the early seventeenth century that it played in Africa towards the end of the nineteenth.

All this is the unflattering reverse of a great period in England's history. Indeed, at all periods Ireland has seen only the seamy side of England's achievements. But there is another aspect of the matter. Two genuine idealisms in the period from 1641 to 1652 actuated England. One was loyalty, that sentimental attachment to the king as king which was unreasoning and unreasoned, but none the less potent. It was a force, but a disappearing force. The other was far more vital—the assertion of liberty. We have to remember that England, which has been for so long the home of conservative compromises, was to Europe of the seventeenth century almost what the France of 1790, the Russia of 1920, came to be in their day. We can hardly realise how bold a deed in the eyes of Europe was the great rebellion which culminated in the beheading of Charles the First. England had thrown the passion of its best minds into this struggle, and the movement was at all points closely linked with the revolt from Rome. This genuine impulse towards freedom in the State and freedom in thought found Ireland at both points supporting its opponents. The opposition so engendered made enemies for Ireland of the idealists as well as the fanatics in Puritan England, and the baser elements in the side that triumphed, which in England itself were curbed by a strong sense of the common weal, got a free hand in Ireland. Things were done which could never have been justified to any just tribunal, and they were done in the name of righteousness, with Scriptural sanction invoked. Interests were built up to support spoliation, pledged by their very existence to

maintain as righteous that which was fundamentally wicked and unjust.

In trying to understand, as the student of history must, the attitude of such men as Cromwell and Milton towards Ireland, or even that of Andrew Marvell, the friend of both and as humane a Christian according to his lights as ever lived, one must bear in mind that Ireland opposed these men in their struggle for liberty; also, that their conception of liberty did not include religious toleration in our sense. Cromwell expressed the English conception of liberty of conscience when he said that "He would look into no man's thoughts, but that if liberty of conscience meant liberty to exercise the Mass in public, that would never be granted by England." Charles I., whatever his personal sentiments, did not differ publicly in this from Cromwell. His purpose was to maintain his throne; and he knew that to recognise the Roman Catholic religion would cost him his throne. Ireland went to war in 1641 undoubtedly for two main reasons, and probably the more potent of the two was to recover lands which had been taken away from Irishmen; the other was to gain full recognition for the religion of Irishmen. The first of these would not necessarily have united England against Ireland; the second did; and it was the second plea that, perhaps inevitably, the Irish put into the forefront. They joined their demand for religious liberty with a declaration that on the issue which divided England they were for the King and against the Parliament.

The reason is plain. This war is unlike any war that went before it in Ireland. It was the first general rebellion in Ireland—that is, the first general rising of subjects against a Government which reserved to itself the sole right to possess armed force. So long as there were independent Irish chiefs, great or small, each tribe maintained some kind of military organisation; and all the greater nobles either kept or could get at need professional bonaghts or galloglasses. This state of affairs ended with the defeat of Tyrone under Elizabeth, or, at latest, with the Flight of the Earls. For more than thirty years the only recognised fighting men in Ireland had been those in the Government's service; in Ireland now the only native Catholic men trained to war were the few thousands who had been drilled by Strafford and then disbanded; and there was no military organisation in any of the old Irish

chiefdoms. Therefore, though internal division rendered England weaker than England had been for two centuries, Ireland was weaker than Ireland ever had been. Those who planned revolt had necessarily to seek for help wherever there was hope of it ; and new lines of alliance were indicated.

It has been seen that when the military effort was abandoned after Elizabeth's reign, Irishmen turned to a new way of seeking redress. They saw that in England Parliament in the interest of liberty was seeking to limit the sovereign's power, and they had also sought to use the parliamentary machinery for their own purposes.

Roger or Rory O'More, one of the dispossessed Leix clan, an educated and highly trained man who was elected to Parliament, realised that the threat to all titles in Irish land menaced those native Irish who were still landholders far more gravely than the English who had acquired Irish land in the course of successive confiscations ; and he had sought to ally the Anglo-Irish with the Irish by the common interest in their properties. Community of religion made another link with most of them. Strafford, however, was strong enough to show that the combined interest of old Irish and Anglo-Irish Catholics could be overridden by the English Government. When England turned against Strafford, O'More renewed his efforts and made an alliance between Irish Catholics and the Puritans in Ireland, which sent to London a joint remonstrance against the Lord-Lieutenant's illegal oppression.

But the English Puritan Parliament, which took Strafford's head for his attempt to overthrow their constitutional safeguards, had no desire to provide constitutional safeguards for Roman Catholics ; and Parsons and Borlase, the Lords-Justices appointed to carry on government when Strafford fell, were fiercely Puritan, and one of them, Parsons, was a man whose chief object in Ireland was confiscation. It was now clear that parliamentary efforts could lead the Catholic Irish in that day only to an impassable barrier.

O'More therefore turned his energies to seeking redress by arms. If rebellion were to enlist on its side the Anglo-Irish of the Pale, it must take a form and seek a justification which would appeal to them. The Catholics of the Pale were Royalist ; English Royalists were less hostile than English Parliamentarians to the Roman Catholic religion. O'More's

policy looked first to getting support for rebellion from the Anglo-Irish Pale and its offshoots; it looked, further, to getting possible support from one of the parties into which England was divided. This policy gave the rebellion its apparent strength and its real weakness. It came to be the union of men who sought one object—freedom for Roman Catholics—in common; but who in their sentiments and their real aims were divided. Further, it stamped on itself a character of unreality, because it claimed to be acting in the name of a king who nevertheless by all his acts repudiated it. O'More got his alliance, but it cost more than it was worth. It weakened irretrievably the one strong element in the rebellion. This was found in the officers of Irish race and sympathies who had been trained in European war, but above all in the genius of one among them—Owen Roe O'Neill.

After the Flight of the Earls there had been a widespread movement of the Irish nobles and swordsmen to the Continent. The name was not yet given, but the Flight of the Wild Geese had begun. Hugh O'Neill's eldest surviving son John held a command in Spain, where he was given his title of Tyrone; throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries European Courts and camps were full of Irish hereditary nobles, whose nobility was recognised in every country outside their own. England's completed conquest had enlisted against England all the Irish pride of race. That, however, was a small matter compared with the actual value of the human stuff lost to Ireland—material which under a wiser policy could have been at England's service. Military history does not furnish any better example of the best soldierly qualities than can be found in the record of Owen Roe; and he set that example in a war where scarcely any man but he escaped discredit or disgrace.

The first period of the war was over before Owen reached Ireland. He was a serving soldier in the Spanish service; from June to August of 1640 he had commanded the garrison of Arras in a famous siege, in which three marshals of France were opposed to him. The war between France and Spain continued, with Flanders for its chief theatre, and until the end of July 1642 Owen Roe could not get to Ireland. By that time the rebellion had virtually failed; and though it was not difficult to renew the fight, all the chances which surprise gave at the outset were lost.

The pivot of the plan had been the seizure of Dublin Castle with its store of arms, and when that enterprise failed, through incompetence more than through treachery, Irish insurgents had nothing but an unarmed mob at their command. They gained one important success in the first month : a party of 800 horse proceeding from Dublin to reinforce Drogheda was surprised and half destroyed. But the attempt to take Drogheda failed after a prolonged siege, in which the small force of defenders gained increasingly a moral ascendancy. Sir Phelim O'Neill abandoned the siege in March 1642 ; Tichborne, who had been the moving spirit of the defence of Drogheda, drove him out of Dundalk also in the following month. By this time an army of 4000 Scots under General Munro had landed at Carrickfergus, by request of the King and the English Parliament. Ulster, which had opened the rebellion, was now gravely threatened. But Ulster's example had before this been followed by nearly the whole of Ireland. O'More had brought off his alliance.

From the first the Ulster insurgents professed to act in the name of the Crown. Sir Phelim O'Neill produced a letter of authorisation stamped with what purported to be the royal seal. This was a forgery ; but the profession of allegiance was made, and found its justification in the fact that Parliament and King in England were on the brink of war. In December, while the insurgent army lay about Drogheda, a county meeting of Meath was called by Lord Gormanstown, a short ride from the besieged town. To it came a deputation headed by Rory O'More, with other leaders, having a guard of musketeers equipped from the spoils taken at Grahamstown. " Why come ye armed into the Pale ? " was the question put. O'More answered : " My Lords, our sufferings are grown too heavy for us to bear. We are the sole subjects in Europe incapable of serving our sovereign in places of honour, profit, and trust. We are obstructed in the ways of learning, so that our children cannot come to speak Latin " (then the international language) " without renouncing their dependence on the Church and endangering their souls. These things we wished redressed in Parliament, and had they listened to us, or to you, we should have sat down contented. But the Lords-Justices are merely bent on ruining our nation, and they involve you in the same distrust with us. . . . Lest the brand of rebellion which they put upon us may deter you,

we here protest in the sight of heaven that we fight the malignant party in Parliament who encroach on the King's prerogative, and we invite you to join us in so glorious an undertaking." On these terms the lords and gentry of the Pale agreed to join.

They brought with them a great reinforcement in influence, and a certain quantity of arms, which, after the failure of the attempt on Dublin Castle, had been distributed in considerable quantities to the local magnates. This action of Lord Gormanstown and others might be counted treacherous, were it not for the course pursued by the Lords-Justices and their men in power, of whom the chief was Sir Charles Coote. They from the outset acted on the assumption that all Catholic Ireland was one with the Ulster insurgents in the purpose of rebellion, and equally guilty of the inhumanities which had been committed. At once, wherever their power reached, they took measures of repression against all Catholics, which rivalled, if they did not exceed, the worst savageries that could be charged against the Ulster mobs. These deeds were done in Leinster, where no provocation had been given to palliate them, and they were done not by a mob but by soldiers acting under orders. Neither age nor sex was spared. The effect produced upon the mind, not of ignorant people, but of Gormanstown, Fingall, and other leaders in the Pale, was that a general massacre of Catholics was contemplated. The Lords-Justices publicly denied this, and refused to credit that Coote had said such things as were attributed to him. But his actions were only too eloquent; and there can be no doubt that many of the Protestants who held power in Dublin knew that rebellion promised a rich crop of confiscations and were willing for that reason that it should spread. Cromwell's action in making a wholesale butchery within towns that had resisted after summons was given to surrender on conditions may at least be represented with some plausibility as tending to shorten war; the barbarities committed by servants of the Government in Leinster and in Munster do not admit of any such defence. They had and could have had no effect but to spread the area of revolt and to envenom its character.

The proof of this is to be found in the character of those who joined in the rebellion. In the south, Lord Mountgarrett, second in importance only to Ormonde himself,

remonstrated with St Leger, the President of Munster, declaring that innocent persons were being put to death. St Leger's treatment of the remonstrance was such that Mountgarrett, though very old, and assuredly as loyal a subject as any just Government could have desired, joined the rebellion, and practically the whole Butler kindred followed him. Nothing stood to the English in the south but the immense personal power of Lord Cork and his connections. Of the older English or Norman-English families, only Lord Barrymore held to St Leger, and he was married to Cork's daughter. The Irish were little likely to resist such a movement; yet the chief among them, Donough MacCarthy, had accepted a peerage as Lord Muskerry, and had received terms profitable to himself. He for some time tried to keep his part of the country clear of disturbance, but failed, and threw in his lot with the rebellion. Lord Castlehaven, whose connection with Ireland dated only from his father's acquisition of great estates in the confiscations under James I., took the same course; and he too complained of "cruel massacring, hanging and torturing, the slaughter of thousands of innocent men, women, and children."

In such a general rising of an unarmed country, at a period when most of the civil power during peace rested with the nobles and gentry, it came to pass inevitably that the highest in rank were selected for commands; and these men were all civilians, ignorant of soldiering; Munster and Leinster had not known war for forty years. They had the assistance and advice of some professional soldiers trained abroad; Europe was a great school of arms during the Thirty Years War, then raging. But a professional soldier is at a special disadvantage in handling irregulars; his training has led him to expect and count on much that irregular troops cannot have. There was no time in military history when the professional pedantry of regular soldiering had more hold than in the seventeenth century, and Scott has shown in his picture of Dugald Dalgetty among the Highlanders how unserviceable even a competent officer of regulars may be with levies having neither the equipment nor the discipline to which he is accustomed. Men of genius surmount the difficulty; but Ireland in this war found only one trained soldier of genius, and no natural born leader of irregulars.

Yet in the early stages of the war one Irish soldier stood out, but he was against Ireland.

Three men in this period of Irish history had exceptional importance, from a combination of character and position. These were the Marquis of Ormonde, the Earl of Clanricarde, and Lord Inchiquin. In the case of Ormonde, position counted perhaps for even more than character. He was a Protestant, though nearly all the rest of the great house of which he was the head were Catholic. This inevitably made him a natural link between the Catholic insurgents and the Protestant Government. Yet the position alone did not account for his influence. Kildare was a Protestant and he played no appreciable part in these years. But no Earl of Kildare was likely to be wholly trusted by the English; history was against that. Moreover, Ormonde's possessions in both countries had grown immensely; scarcely any other subject in Europe held so princely a position. It is agreed that he graced it; the man was personally a great gentleman, who took his part naturally in great affairs. He was humane and without bigotry, an honourable man of the world. But he was a royalist of his time, counting it his paramount duty to serve the king, and regarding the king as above criticism. It did not occur to him to weigh the interest of either Ireland or England against his fidelity to the king.

Lord Clanricarde, with less influence and less ability, was of the same type; and he too, like Ormonde, was a natural link, though not in the same way, for he was Catholic. It is clear that both had many friends among the insurgents and were personally loved. Both wanted a humane peace; and both hoped that Charles might be induced to deal with the Irish question on its merits. They hoped always, and induced their friends in the Irish camp to hope, too much from the king.

Inchiquin had no position comparable to that of even Clanricarde, but he made division in Clare; and he was reinforced by the position of his kinsman. The Earl of Thomond was, like Muskerry, the representative of an Irish house which had long borne rule; like Muskerry, he was personally contented with the settlement that had been made, leaving him great landed possessions in lieu of the old kingship; but, unlike Muskerry, he was a Protestant, and he, though with little personal influence, opposed the rebellion, did his utmost to keep Clare out of it, and consistently refused to join, though he took no active part against the insurgents. It was

not in Inchiquin's nature to be inactive. His brilliant military genius had got a training in the Spanish armies ; and he was son-in-law to St Leger, who, if brutal, was a strong soldier. When the general rising of Munster had cooped St Leger up in Cork, Inchiquin persuaded the President to let him make a sally with a small force. He surprised the Irish army, then commanded by Muskerry, in its camp, inflicted serious loss, and captured much provision. When St Leger died a few months later, Inchiquin became the able and ruthless director of war in Munster, victorious wherever he came to an engagement. But the province was in Irish hands, except for Youghal, which Lord Cork held—thus retaining command of a valuable seaport on the south-east. Bandon, which had walls, became a centre of Protestant resistance and held out through the war ; it kept its defensively or offensively Protestant character for fully two centuries, attested by the inscription on its gate, "Jew, Turk, or infidel may enter here, but not a Papist."

In the midlands, Ormonde, acting as commander-in-chief, had gained a remarkable success within two days of Inchiquin's first victory. At Kilrush, near Athy, he routed a more numerous but ill-armed army in which Mountgarrett was present, but no one was clearly in command. The rout was followed by disbandment of the unorganised forces.

In Connaught nothing decisive happened. Clanricarde's influence kept the town of Galway in an uncertain allegiance ; he was thwarted by the truculence of an English officer who commanded in the fort, but ultimately by offering clement terms he procured a cessation of hostilities. His action was condemned by the Lords-Justices, who had issued an order against treating with Irish rebels in the neighbourhood of any garrison ; and they were the more inclined to blame Clanricarde because a horrible deed had been committed in his country. A large party of scattered Protestants in Mayo had fled to Castlebar, and Lord Mayo promised them safe convoy to Galway. He saw them to the bridge at Shrule which joins the counties, and then left them with a small escort of his men, who immediately began to plunder the party ; two companies of Connemara men then came up and a massacre began. Nearly one hundred are said to have perished, though some were saved by local Catholics.

In Connaught, as in Munster, the bulk of the province was

in Irish hands. But Athlone and the Shannon crossing were held by the Lord President; while Galway was open to Crown forces.

In the north things looked even less well for the Irish. Monro by the end of April had an army of four thousand trained and well-equipped men. He retook Newry very shortly, and marched through County Down and Armagh, imitating the conduct of St Leger in his severity. After the surrender of Newry, which made no resistance, sixty men of the garrison were hanged and many women were killed. In the north-west of the province, successful centres of resistance to the Irish were set up and maintained by Cole at Enniskillen, by Hamilton in Leitrim, and by two ex-officers, Sir William and Sir Robert Stewart, in East Donegal and North Tyrone—who between them raised a little force that came to be called the Laggan army.

It must be remembered that in England civil war had not yet broken out. All those who opposed the insurgents were still united as a part of the English power. The Irish had as yet no real rallying point. They had found no man, they had no name, that could raise armies; for in the north Sir Phelim O'Neill had proved but a mean representative of his stock. Nothing but a man or men of exceptional quality could prevent such incoherent forces from crumbling; and the insurgents had already taken a step which led clean away from the system of personal rule which had been the only one known in native Ireland.

The need for a recognised controlling power was apparent. After six months of war, the Irish soldiery had become what unpaid troops with no regular system of supply must become, a scourge to the country in which they operated. In the south where the territorial magnates whom the populace habitually obeyed were Catholics and were rich men, the trouble was not so bad, for these men were in charge; but in Ulster, O'Neills, O'Reillys, Maguires, and the rest had been dispossessed and replaced by Protestant landlords; there was no leader to whom obedience was instinctively given, and no man or body of men with resources to provide even partially for the levies. The irregular bands lived on the country. Only one organisation existed whose authority was respected equally by Catholics of the Pale and of the Irishry; it was the hierarchy of the Catholic Church. The bishops of Ireland

were almost compelled to take action, and early in 1642 the Primate, O'Reilly, called his clergy together, and they recognised the necessity for constructing a government. Consultation with the lay leaders was set on foot. The Leinster nobles had already formed a Council of which Mountgarrett was President. Any discussion had to recognise not only the need for unity, but the existence of divisions which made unity difficult to achieve. From the first it had been settled to avoid all question of sovereignty by continuing to recognise the English king as supreme. But even in the constitution of an Irish State there was danger in insisting either upon its oneness as a State, or upon its Irish character. These reasons pointed to forming union under the name of a confederacy, which recognised the difference of units forming it, and also to emphasising the religious and not the national character of the association. So came into being the Catholic Confederation. A Supreme Council was appointed, consisting of two members from each province, with Mountgarrett as President for a ninth. It was therefore a confederation of provinces, and it excluded by its very definition all the Scotch and many of the English settlers, as well as two most important Anglo-Irishmen, Ormonde and Inchiquin, and also two others whose position gave them some weight, the Earls of Kildare and of Thomond. Finally, the part played by the clergy in bringing about this creation, and the emphasis laid upon the religious character of the war, made it natural that excommunication should be threatened against any province, county, or city which broke away from the Union. So came into use the spiritual weapon in Irish affairs.

It is impossible to blame those who were responsible for these decisions. In a desperate emergency, and without the resources of power, they had to cope with the consequences of a foreign rule in Ireland—a rule which for at least three hundred and fifty years had regarded the Irish as foreigners in their own country. It had first introduced division of races, and had by reiterated legislation done its best to maintain that division, throwing power into the hands of a privileged minority ; when the races in spite of it tended to fuse, it had deliberately poured in new masses of the alien element ; and at the same time it had introduced a division in religious belief which never grew up naturally in Ireland. In each case it had set up the privilege of a minority against the

commonest rights of the greater number. The discords which grow from such a system, continued through centuries, are not easily reconciled ; and insistence upon Catholicism as the bond of federation gave a chance of far wider union than if its Irish character had been put forward.

But facts cannot be disposed of by screening them, and the jealousy between Irish and Anglo-Irish was a force potent for dissension. Probably a sense of this dictated the choice of Mountgarrett for President, although it must have been plain that a man of over seventy was not the fit leader. Yet he had married the daughter of the great Earl of Tyrone, and so was in himself a link between the Irish, especially of Ulster, and the best-established Norman-English stock. Another consideration weighed, doubtless, even more. The confederates certainly counted on bringing in Clanricarde ; they certainly hoped to gain Ormonde, and so they made his kinsman their head. They also pitched upon Kilkenny, Ormonde's town, for their capital ; but they had, indeed, little choice. Athlone, the best centre, was held by the English ; Limerick and Galway were for the time neutralised ; Mullingar would have been dangerously near Dublin, and was not a place of dignity. But the choice was disastrous. Ormonde was throughout able to influence the Supreme Council more than they influenced him, and through the Supreme Council he influenced the war. Direction of the war from Kilkenny meant in the outcome that direction of the war fell to the Anglo-Irish, not the Irish. But those who were now in charge of the Confederation failed to realise that the first essential to their purpose was success in war. A general's camp, and not an improvised capital, would have been the true centre for Ireland in that day ; but the Confederates when Owen Roe landed were preoccupied with constitution-making, not with war.

They had at their disposal a new element in the life of Catholic Ireland which from that day to this has been powerful—acute, able, and ingenious lawyers, profoundly interested in the constructive side of politics and trained in English law. At that moment in English history more than ever before or after, constitution-making occupied men's minds ; the principles of representative government began to come clearly into light. Those who undertook to frame a constitution for the Irish State were obliged to take account of these principles.

The original Supreme Council was only provisional. It was decided that an Assembly should be convened—in effect, a parliament of Catholic Ireland; and able Catholic lawyers were set to draft a constitution for its adoption. These men worked inevitably with the English model uppermost in their minds. They planned a parliament which had lords spiritual and temporal—the Catholic bishops and mitred abbots, the Catholic peers who had sat in the Dublin Parliament. No account was taken of titles of rank except those conferred by the Church or by the King; naturally so, because there were no longer any officially recognised heads of the old Irish principalities or chieftaincies. With the peers were to be joined, as in England, representatives of the commons. A list of constituencies was prepared, differing only in detail from that used for the Dublin Parliament. In the Assembly peers and commoners were to form one House, sitting and voting together, though with power to deliberate separately. This was an interesting proposal, but of little importance as compared with the question of the executive. In the Dublin parliament, as in that of Westminster, the King appointed his ministers. What was his power over them, what was parliament's power over them, were questions fiercely in debate in England of that day. But for Ireland the Catholic lawyers devised a wholly new piece of machinery. The executive was to be a Council elected by the Assembly from its members. The Council, which was to be supreme, was to consist of twenty-four; and because it was the Council of a Confederation each province was to elect six of the twenty-four from members representing the province.

We have now three centuries' experience of representative government and know that a ministry so composed could never work even in peace time; and that for a time of war it was absurdly unfit to direct. The question of a quorum was raised at once; and it was settled that nine must be present, and at least six assenting before any administrative order could be valid. The inevitable result was to throw power to that province which could keep most members of the Council available. Kilkenny was in Leinster, it was near Munster, it was far from Connaught, and very far from Ulster. Yet Ulster was the real heart of the war.

Finally, and most fatally, the theorists decided to divide the war as they had divided the administration. Each

province was to have its own general, and none of the four was to be subordinate to any of the others. Unity of command might have given Ireland decisive advantage over a divided England; but the Irish forces, by the decree of the Supreme Council, were even more divided than their opponents.

CHAPTER XXVII

OWEN ROE O'NEILL

It was in the end of July 1642 that Owen Roe O'Neill landed at Doe Castle in Sheep Haven. A few days later, in August, Colonel Preston reached Wexford. O'Neill had come north about from Dunkirk, touching at Norway, and leaving Scotland on his left; Preston sailed south about, down Channel, and then across to Wexford. This indicates how incomplete was England's command of the sea. Owen Roe even captured two English vessels on his voyage. He brought with him about two hundred experienced soldiers, as well as arms and ammunition, and his ships went back instantly for a further supply.

The rising had been an Ulster rising and all plans had been discussed in advance with Owen: he had messengers constantly back and forwards. Preston may or may not have been aware of what was doing. He and O'Neill had been captains in the same regiment but never friends, perhaps for purely personal reasons, more probably from the lack of sympathy between old Irish and Anglo-Irish. They had, when each got a command of his own, been rivals in the recruiting that went on, and it inflamed the quarrel that men enlisted in Ireland for Preston, transferred themselves in Flanders to O'Neill. Preston's reputation was not equal to that which O'Neill had earned by his defence of Arras, but it stood high, and had O'Neill not been available he was far fitter to command in chief than any man on the Irish side. All his connections were in the Pale: he came to Ireland at his nephew Lord Gormanstown's instance, and he too was accompanied by experienced officers and by considerable supply.

It is unlikely that either of the two men would have

refused to serve under the other, but possibly a sense of their unfriendliness dictated the decision. Preston was put in command of Leinster, Owen Roe of Ulster. Barry and Burke, professional soldiers of experience, were named respectively generals of Munster and of Connaught. Burke was only to be lieutenant-general, the higher command being kept open for Clanricarde, whose adhesion was always hoped for.

In Ulster, Sir Phelim O'Neill thought that the same recognition should have been shown to the hereditary leadership which he claimed. He was unwilling to be superseded by Owen Roe, and this was one of the innumerable difficulties that the general of Ulster had to face.

It is said, and is easily believed, that the Council, sitting in Leinster and chiefly consisting of Anglo-Irish, gave the Anglo-Irish Leinster general a lion's share of the supply, pay, and ammunition that was available, and that Owen Roe had to petition even for a share in consignments brought in his ships and consigned personally to him. Preston's troops were throughout better found than the Ulstermen. But the gravest of Owen Roe's difficulties lay in the enemy he had to face. Inchiquin at Cork was able, but was kept very short of men and supplies. Ormonde, who commanded in Dublin, was impeded by difficulties with the Irish Government and by the fact that the King and the Kilkenny Council alike used him as a channel for negotiations which both desired. But in Ulster, Monro, a capable soldier, had an army of veteran troops, and during a long period O'Neill was obliged to remain on the defensive, trusting rather to the difficulties of the country than to arms. He had made up his mind not to give battle until he had a fighting force which he could trust, and he began by disbanding a large proportion of the undisciplined troops, retaining only a small body for a nucleus. Monro attacked him, of course, and three times within a year he extricated his men with great difficulty from the danger of complete destruction.

After the third of these reverses O'Neill fell back on the borderland between Ulster and Connaught and set to forming a disciplined army. It was sore needed. Matters had been going even worse elsewhere than in Ulster. In Munster, Barry inspired no confidence. The sole success gained was by a body of cavalry under Lord Castlehaven, who defeated an

English force at Kilworth near Fermoy. In Leinster, Preston was repulsed in December when attacking a convoy, and in March 1643, when Ormonde marched with three thousand men to besiege New Ross, Preston took the field against him with double his numbers and was disastrously beaten.

After these reverses, when Monck, along with Lord Moore, attacked Meath, and threatened the property of leading men among the Confederates, O'Neill was summoned south to face this danger, and marched into Meath, where his men had rich plunder. Moore came out in force, unduly contemptuous of his enemy. O'Neill drove him into a carefully prepared position commanding a ford and a narrow pass to it, and here Moore fell by a cannon shot and his men were dispersed with heavy loss.

Yet, though this minor success was the best that Ireland could boast of, all the while the Confederates were gaining ground, because England was at war with England. Charles set up his standard in August; the 22nd October 1642, when the General Assembly in Kilkenny met for the first time, was also the date of the bloody but indecisive battle of Edgehill. Neither King nor Parliament could for a long time claim any real advantage, and in this position of affairs neither party was likely to spare money or reinforcements for Ireland.

On the other hand, England's weakness slackened the energy of the Kilkenny government. Its members thought that they saw an opportunity to obtain their own ends by a treaty with the King, who in his difficulties might grant what he had previously refused. Charles was perfectly ready to negotiate. He wanted to get men and money out of Ireland, instead of spending both there. He was also well aware that a Government which is negotiating does not conduct war with energy, and through Ormonde and Clanricarde he succeeded in diverting the Irish from concentration upon their war. In the contest of diplomacy Charles and Ormonde triumphed. A cessation of hostilities was agreed to in September 1643. This relieved the English power in Leinster, Munster, and Connaught from any apprehension of attack; but it left O'Neill in Ulster face to face with an army whom the cessation did not bind. The Scots were acting with the Parliament, and Parliament instantly denounced the cessation as "an impious design on foot to sell for nought the crying

blood of many hundreds of thousands of British Protestants by a dishonourable peace with the rebels."

Parliament had very clear views as to the price which should be exacted for this bloodshed. At the outset of the rebellion, money was borrowed on the security of lands in Ireland "to be confiscated." Two million five hundred thousand acres were estimated as available. "Adventurers" came forward, they formed a committee to look after their interests, and its representatives were given seats on the Irish Council in Dublin. More than this, they raised an expedition in the summer of 1642, and a thousand men sailed under the command of Lord Forbes. They operated in County Cork at several points, and later in Galway, and wherever they landed they plundered and killed without shame or mercy. The expedition effected nothing except to aggravate the war's bitterness.

Negotiations after the cessation were naturally directed to guarding against new plunder of Irish land. In April 1644, Charles at Oxford received the agents appointed by the Supreme Council, and at the same time representatives from the Protestant party in Ireland, of whom Sir Charles Coote was the most representative figure. The Catholic demand was that all penal laws against their religion should be repealed, that there should be a free Irish parliament, entirely independent of that at Westminster, and that all proceedings of the Irish Parliament since the rebellion should be annulled. The last provision would cancel the various penalties under which new forfeitures could take place. They claimed further that all the forfeitures since Strafford's coming to power in 1634 should be abandoned. But they did not insist that the forfeitures which followed the Flight of the Earls should be rescinded. The Ulster plantation was left to stand.

The Irish Protestants, on the other hand, insisted that the penal laws should be maintained and fully executed against Catholics, that the Irish Parliament should remain constituted as it was, and that the power over it, given by Poyning's Law to Westminster, should stand; that plantations should be encouraged, and that no lawyer should be allowed to practise who did not take the oath of supremacy, recognising the King as head of the Church.

Charles gave neither party satisfaction. He never went

beyond a willingness to agree that the penal laws should not be rigorously enforced—in fact, that the Government should connive at the existence of Catholic religion. But by the negotiating he had gained certain considerable advantages. After the cessation the Confederates voted him £30,000, to be paid half in cash and half in cattle. He was able to withdraw from Ireland certain of Ormonde's troops, perhaps 7000 men, nearly all of whom were Protestants, though the Puritans gained much support by representing that Charles was employing Irish Papists in England. Papists were, however, employed in Scotland, and provided with arms by the Confederation. Two thousand five hundred Irish sailed from Waterford under Alastair MacDonnell to join Montrose, and they took no small part in Montrose's victories, and shared his tragic end.

The Confederation had nothing to set against these gains. They had, it is true, reason to believe that a victory of the King's party would be less disastrous for their cause than a victory of the Parliament; but the King was not winning. On July 1st, 1644, Marston Moor was fought, and after this news Inchiquin and the Earl of Cork, marooned in Munster, declared for the Parliament. This ended the cessation in the south; in the north it had never operated. Inchiquin held only Bandon, Kinsale, Cork, and Youghal; but he decided to make sure of these places and drove all Catholics out of the three ports. He had no need to take this measure in Bandon.

But it was in the north that the Council's folly was most apparent. Nothing could have justified the cessation but a determination to concentrate against Monro and his Scots, who were now holding only Carrickfergus and Larne. The £30,000 voted to Charles should have been sent to O'Neill, who from the first had realised that an army must be provisioned, and who limited his forces to what he could pay. The arms and the men that went with MacDonnell could have been better employed to reinforce the general of Ulster. Above all, O'Neill's authority should have been strengthened by all possible means. What the Council did was to supersede him.

In November, two months after the cessation, they decided that there should be an Ulster campaign; but they decided also that they dare not put so much power into O'Neill's hands as to give him command of a force drawn from

all Ireland. Preston was set aside because of the personal feud, and so the Assembly proceeded to ballot for a general. Castlehaven's name came out. He had no experience of high command, he was an Englishman; but nobody was jealous of him, and he had gained a small success in a cavalry action.

Meantime, the Scots and Protestant English in Ulster, at first somewhat disunited, had closed up solidly. The Solemn League and Covenant, adopted in Britain after the Irish cessation, and largely in consequence of it, was universally accepted from Ballyshannon to Carrickfergus.

In July 1644 Castlehaven with his army moved north. An ignominious campaign filled the summer, in which no general action took place, and the want of union between Leinster and Ulster troops was apparent. In September Castlehaven withdrew—O'Neill challenging inquiry, and saying that either he or Castlehaven ought to be executed.

During all of 1644 and 1645 futile negotiations were in progress between Kilkenny and the King. O'Neill in the north was left so weak that the Ulster Protestant forces could strike down into Connaught from the north. Sligo was taken, and in the attempt to recover it, Archbishop Queely of Tuam was prominent, if not in chief command. The forces with him were surprised and routed and he himself slain. A paper taken on his body revealed much of the King's secret diplomacy, and helped to bring Charles to the block.

Then, suddenly, the character of the Irish struggle changed. Envoys from Kilkenny had been busy all over Europe, with little result, except to secure leave for both Spain and France to recruit soldiers in the Irish regions which the Confederacy commanded. Neither Spain nor France would send men to Ireland; they furnished, at most, means to procure arms. But the Papacy, which was then not only a spiritual but a temporal power, controlling revenues and forces, had a closer interest in this struggle of a Catholic Confederation. Envoys of all conditions from Ireland were busy at Rome. Father Luke Wadding, one of the ablest Irishmen of his day, was in continual residence there, and kept closely in touch with Owen Roe.

As early as August 1643, the Oratorian Scarampi came to Kilkenny with a commission from the Pope. The Ormonde cessation was then on the point of being concluded, and Scarampi opposed it, pointing out that Ireland wasted money

and men if it gave them to the King's cause ; that its hope lay in strengthening the Irish cause to the utmost, since only by possessing the reality of strength could they hope to extract from any party in England recognition for the rights of the Catholic religion ; and that a cessation which did not bind all British forces in the country was of no value to Ireland.

By 1645, still under the nominal cessation of hostilities, Ireland was confronted with war under Inchiquin in Munster, war under Coote and the Protestants of north-west Ulster in Connaught, and war in eastern Ulster under Monro ; and the Catholic cause was plainly losing ground. The Pope decided to send not merely an adviser, but a Papal nuncio armed with both the spiritual and temporal power. Rinuccini, Bishop of Fermo, sailed from France in a frigate provided by Cardinal Mazarin, and landed in Kerry on October 21st, 1645. He brought with him a large store of money and arms, and his own imperious personality. Probably through promise of the Nuncio's coming, Scarampi had induced Limerick to declare for the Confederacy, and the two Italian ecclesiastics met there, before Rinuccini progressed to Kilkenny, where he was received with great pomp. The Confederates' head-quarters had only too much the state and ceremony of a capital ; money appears to have been wasted there which the armies needed.

Rinuccini found the Supreme Council still involved in endless negotiation with the King's various agents. Charles wanted peace, which would enable him to transfer to the English war all the troops in Ireland that recognised his authority and leave to the Irish the task of beating his domestic enemies in Ireland. For this notable advantage Charles was ready to promise concessions ; but Rinuccini saw and said that these promises were of no value unless the King was able to keep them. Ireland, in short, was negotiating peace with a sovereign who had not the power to grant it. The Nuncio at least dealt in realities. He had brought arms and money, and the provision was divided into three parts. A third went to Preston, who was told off to lead a force against the strong places held for the Parliament in Connaught. A second was appropriated to the reduction of a new Puritan stronghold in Clare. The Earl of Thomond had refused to declare for either side, and the Confederacy, recognising no man's right to be neutral, proceeded to con-

fiscate his estates. He left Ireland, but, before leaving, arranged with his kinsman Inchiquin that the castle of Bunratty, now a place of great size and strength, should be handed over to the Parliamentary forces. A third part, but only a third, was put at the disposal of Owen Roe.

At this point in the history, Rinuccini was practically a war minister, pushing the war against the Parliamentary forces, while the Supreme Council busied themselves with the question of peace with Ormonde and the King. Rinuccini, dealing with his own funds, was independent of the Council, and he concentrated energy on the war with notable success. Bunratty was handed to the Parliamentarians in March 1646. By the end of July Bunratty had fallen : Preston had captured Roscommon, thus breaking the line of fortresses from Athlone to Sligo ; and in the north Owen Roe had gained the victory of Benburb. On the other hand, at the same moment, the Supreme Council were ready to conclude peace with Ormonde. It is perfectly clear that the two policies were unconnected and discordant. As early as May, dissension in the Confederate camp was so great that Monro believed he could march south and take Kilkenny. This is what led to the battle of Benburb.

O'Neill, with the provision of money made by the Nuncio, found himself for the first time able to equip a regular army, receiving regular pay and under strict discipline and training. He fixed his camp in Cavan, and by May was able to command some 5000 infantry and 500 cavalry "of good, hopeful men." Monro had much larger forces ; the Laggan army about Derry now numbered over 2000, and he himself marched from Belfast on 2nd June at the head of 6000 foot and 800 horse. At Glaslough in Monaghan his brother George Monro was to join with a detachment of 500 from Coleraine—half of them cavalry : the Laggan army would meet him at Clones, thus bringing his full force to over 9000 men, equipped as England could afford to equip them. Not more than half of Owen's men were properly armed : "The rest as the rabble used to be in the beginning of the distractions," says an officer who was with them. But their pikes were long in the shaft and small-headed ; the English used a broad-bladed pike, less efficient ; and the soldiers often shortened the shaft to make it easier of carriage, preferring their convenience to their safety, as soldiers will do if not carefully supervised.

Owen's intelligence was as good as his discipline, and he learnt Monro's plan. The chance for him lay in anticipating the enemy's junction of forces; and when Monro's forces reached Armagh, O'Neill was already at Benburb on the north of the Blackwater, between Monro and the force coming from Coleraine. On June 6th, the armies were face to face; O'Neill had detached a contingent to hold off the Coleraine troops. The passage of the Blackwater was not disputed; on the Tyrone bank, O'Neill gradually fell back to the ground which he had chosen, adding labour to the heavy marching which Monro's men had already undergone. The opening stages of the fight lasted through the whole afternoon; O'Neill manœuvred his enemy into a mass crowded into the angle made by the little river Oona where it enters the Blackwater; and an hour before sunset the squadron detached to hold back the Coleraine force were seen galloping in; their task had been performed. Then Owen gave the word for a general charge. Even in the confusion of assault, Owen's discipline and handling stood; the English cavalry charging on the Irish foot made confusion in their own ranks, but Owen's pikemen had kept open intervals through which his cavalry countercharged with deadly effect; the rout was complete, Monro's army ceased to exist, and Owen was able to raise and equip new regiments with the arms taken on the field.

Yet the fruits of this amazing victory were thrown away. Two objectives were possible for the victors if the war was to be carried on in earnest. Either Ulster could be cleared of the Scots, or Dublin could be cleared of the English. O'Neill was apparently in pursuit of the former object, for he was moving east through Armagh when Rinuccini called him south. The Nuncio was in Limerick, where he had personally pressed on the siege of Bunratty to its conclusion; and in Limerick Cathedral he had caused *Te Deum* to be sung for the victory of Benburb. But at the moment when the Confederate arms were succeeding in Munster, Connaught, and above all in Ulster, the Anglo-Irish lords were concluding a peace at Kilkenny. Peace with the King meant that the Confederates should accept the authority of Ormonde as the King's Lieutenant in Ireland; and it was a stipulation of the pact that all armies of the Confederacy should pass under the joint command of Clanricarde, who had persistently refused

to join the Confederacy, and of Castlehaven, an Englishman, of proved inefficiency as commander of an army.

Preston, who was a soldier, had proposed to Rinuccini that he should march on Dublin after the news of Benburb ; but all his sympathies lay with the Anglo-Irish, and his forces, now withdrawn from Connaught, along with the Munster forces under Muskerry, marched to Kilkenny and saluted the peace, which had been already proclaimed in Dublin and was proclaimed in Kilkenny on 3rd August, before Rinuccini could arrive from Limerick.

There were great peace celebrations in the Confederates' capital ; but Rinuccini, who had directed and financed the war, turned away from them, went with his attendant clergy to Waterford, and there called an assembly of the clergy, who decided against allowing the peace to be proclaimed. Clonmel, Limerick, and Galway followed suit. Meanwhile Owen Roe and his Ulstermen were marching into Leinster. Rinuccini threatened excommunication against any who accepted the peace or obeyed orders from Ormonde. By September Ormonde, who had been received in Kilkenny, was forced to fall back on Dublin, and Rinuccini, entering Kilkenny, imprisoned all members of the Supreme Council. O'Neill's army was encamped outside the town, and Preston also joined the Nuncio. A new Supreme Council was appointed. No one, however, was appointed commander-in-chief ; Owen Roe and Preston acted independently of each other, and there was much ill-feeling—heightened by the fact that the Ulstermen were now living on the country. O'Neill, however, secured possession of Athlone, and then, advancing through Maryborough, took all places between him and Dublin. Preston moved south of him through Carlow, and the two armies finally lay at Lucan, within a short march of Dublin. They were very short of artillery ; yet, had their forces been cordially united under a single competent command, there is little doubt but that the city would have been taken. But there was no such union, and Ormonde, through Clanricarde, parleyed separately with Preston, till fierce suspicion was aroused among O'Neill's men. Finally, seeing that there was a chance that Dublin might pass into Irish hands, Ormonde decided to hand it over to the Parliamentary forces. He knew that Charles would regard this as the lesser of two evils.

The failure to utilise O'Neill's victory, and the allowing

Dublin to pass from weak hands into strong, is the turning point in this war. The rest was a steady progress to ruin. A new General Assembly was elected, in the choice of which the clergy played a great part, and in which they were not an orderly element. The Assembly denounced Ormonde's peace; but negotiation continued with the King, and with the Queen, who was in France. Lord Glamorgan, a Catholic agent entrusted by Charles with great powers, yet ready to be disavowed by his master, was made a general of the Munster army; and this section of the Confederate forces swung back to the promoters of the Ormonde peace. Meantime Preston, the chief soldier of the Anglo-Irish, was preparing to attack Dublin, where Michael Jones, son of an Irish Protestant bishop, was in command. Jones came out into the open and met Preston at Dungan Hill, west of Maynooth. The Irish were routed, and there was terrible slaughter during the battle and after it. In Munster Inchiquin captured Cappoquin and Dungarvan, which gave him command of the coast from Kinsale to the Waterford River. In September Cahir fell to him, and then Cashel; in both places the capture was followed by butchery, which at Cashel included several priests taken in the cathedral. Two months later Lord Taaffe, with the army of Munster, took the field to revenge the sack of Cashel; Inchiquin met him at Knockanuss, near Kanturk, and destroyed his army.

During this year O'Neill was in Connaught, where the Supreme Council had sent him, probably less for any military reason than to relieve Leinster of the presence of his Ulstermen, who, lacking pay, lost their discipline and plundered the country—thus increasing inevitably the feud between them and the Leinstermen. Feud was bitter. When the news of Preston's defeat came to hand, O'Neill was ordered to move back into Leinster lest Inchiquin and Jones should join hands from Cork to Dublin. His officers, in their anger against the Anglo-Irish, refused to fight in their defence; but O'Neill paraded them before a battery of guns and threatened to fire. They submitted, protesting that their action was caused by resentment at the Council's treatment of their leader; and O'Neill, marching across the ground on which Preston had been defeated, burned the country up to the suburbs of Dublin—Jones not venturing to attack this new opponent. Throughout the winter the Ulster leader, who now had Connaught as

well as Ulster at his back, lay entrenched at Trim, keeping in check the Parliament's forces in the north and in Dublin.

His personal ascendancy was so great that rumour credited him with a desire to make himself King of Ireland ; a book was published which advised the Irish to choose a native sovereign ; and the feeling in the country so frightened the Kilkenny Government that they decided upon a union with Inchiquin, who found himself ill-supported with money by the Parliament, and, moreover, was seriously impressed by the King's danger. This union was definitely directed against the power of O'Neill, and sooner than consent to it Rinuccini escaped from Kilkenny to O'Neill's camp at Maryborough. From here he published an excommunication of all who accepted the truce with Inchiquin. By July 1648 the Anglo-Irish Confederates were actually at war with the conqueror of Benburb. Kilkenny was now under interdict by Rinuccini's proclamation ; but many of the clergy disregarded it. Preston and Inchiquin combined to keep O'Neill in check and prevent him from getting command of Kerry, on which he was moving through Thomond. Meantime Inchiquin was in negotiation to bring Ormonde back, and in September 1648 the Lord-Lieutenant returned to Ireland, having authority from the Prince of Wales and the Queen. Charles himself was by this time a prisoner, and Ormonde's power to treat was doubtful ; but the Confederates at Kilkenny decided to conclude a peace with him, and it was signed by Ormonde in January 1649, a fortnight before Charles I. was beheaded. The terms must be discussed later ; but here one need only say that it did not differ materially from that which was rejected in 1646, and Rinuccini now renewed his rejection of it. But the Nuncio's power was gone. From Galway, where he now resided, he called a National Synod, and his call was not obeyed ; even the clergy were divided, and his ecclesiastical authority was challenged in Galway itself. In February he left Ireland, without recalling any of the ecclesiastical decrees which he had pronounced.

This had a strange effect on Owen Roe's action. Ormonde was now negotiating with all parties in Ireland, and the King's execution had shocked many who were previously strong Parliamentarians, notably the Stewarts, who had raised the Laggan army ; and these now took the Royalist side. It was of course a great object with Ormonde to come to terms

with O'Neill ; yet the Ulster leader was so devout a Catholic that he felt himself barred by Rinuccini's unrepealed sentence of excommunication against any Confederate who should enter into this alliance. Monck meantime, who commanded for the Parliament in the north, was most desirous to prevent the union of Ormonde and O'Neill. He knew that O'Neill was short of powder and could not renew his supply, and he offered supplies for the Ulster Catholic army in exchange for Owen's help to relieve Derry from the Royalist Scots, who were now beleaguering it. So came about the most fantastic alliance in this strange war. Owen Roe, condemned as a traitor by the Catholic Confederation, raised the siege of Derry, which was held by the fierce Puritan Sir Charles Coote. A great banquet was given to the relieving force, and at it Owen Roe suddenly was stricken by illness. There has been suspicion of poison, not unnaturally, but there is no proof. His health had often been weak while he was in Ireland, and he lingered till November of this year. While he lay dying, Cromwell had landed.

In these last weeks of his life Owen Roe made a treaty with Ormonde which stipulated, first, for a general amnesty in respect of any offences since October 1641 ; second, that Ulster should be fully included in any peace made with the Kilkenny Council. These two clauses saved his followers. The third was that the lands in Tyrone should be restored to the clans, and that the Earldom of Tyrone should be conferred on himself with all the rights that were forfeited after the flight of the great Earl Hugh. Fourthly and finally, he covenanted that there should be full liberty for Catholic worship, and that Catholics should have all rights of citizenship. He stipulated also that the Ulster troops should remain under his command, and the Wicklow troops under that of Colonel O'Byrne, with the right for the troops to elect a successor if their leader died.

These terms indicate the man. It is absurd to believe that he desired to revive the High Kingship. Owen Roe is the first conspicuous example of a native Irishman who had completely shaken off tribalism and become wholly part of the European world of his time. He is the first example of an Irish soldier who clearly conceived of himself as the State's servant, not its master. He acted throughout as a disciplined man under orders, until the authority to which he was answer-

able broke to pieces ; and even then we find him aiming to bring himself into a just subordination to the civil power. His answer to the charge of aiming at the crown has a modern ring ; such suggestions, he says, are " too light and foolish, as no man who knows the world would believe me to be such a fool." But more significant is his comment on the hatred for all Palesmen which was attributed to him. " Nephew," he said to Daniel O'Neill, " I hold him to be no better than a devil who will make these distinctions, but call all Irish alike." That was the expression of a new ideal—the willing recognition of a composite nationality. It was natural, if new ; Luke Wadding, for instance, one of Owen's best allies and friends, was a Waterford man of English stock ; yet this conception was so new as to be unusual. Fusion was only beginning ; the Ulster Scots could not as yet be in any sense regarded as Irish, while many of the Anglo-Irish would have rejected the name ; and it is clear that Owen's Ulstermen were regarded with the old tribal feeling of distrust by all the clans of Leinster and Munster, except the Wicklow mountaineers. Lord Muskerry, head of the MacCarthys, evidently found it easier to be on terms with Clanricarde, Inchiquin, and Ormonde, Irishmen who throughout were fighting for the King of England, than with Owen Roe, who throughout was fighting for Ireland and for the free exercise of Irishmen's religion. Yet Owen Roe, though so literal in his faith that his deathbed was disturbed by fears lest he should have incurred Rinuccini's sentence of damnation, was no enemy to Irishmen who were not of his creed ; his nephew, Daniel O'Neill, constantly the intermediary between him and Charles's Court, was a Protestant and one of the King's servants. He had many enemies, as was inevitable for one engaged during seven years in the worst of civil wars ; yet out of all that time his name comes down with no stigma of inhumanity, injustice, or broken faith upon it ; nothing in the record of his actions requires apology. He belonged to the highest civilisation of his day, and Europe of that age could show no better example of a brilliant and honourable soldier. No man could have done more to lift from his country the reproach of barbarism ; he was one of the greatest among the makers of Ireland.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE CROMWELLIAN CONQUEST

It is commonly believed that Cromwell's military action in Ireland was specially brutal, and therefore specially efficacious. The truth is not so. After the massacres at Drogheda and Wexford there was dogged and successful resistance of other garrisons ; and there were years of conflict after Cromwell had left Ireland—conflict prolonged after hope had no reasonable foundation. It is true that the war was ended under Cromwell's auspices : but the war was decided before he came. The Catholic Confederation virtually ended as such when the Supreme Council broke definitely with O'Neill. It ended officially in January 1649, when the Supreme Council made peace with Ormonde and accepted him, as Lord-Lieutenant, for their legal head in the King's absence. As a part of the compact, they then dissolved themselves and the General Assembly to which they owed their authority, and appointed, in lieu of Council and Assembly, twelve Commissioners of Trust who should oversee the performance of the articles of peace until a parliament could be held in due legal form under the King's authority. O'Neill's army remained in the field, but O'Neill was prepared to treat with Ormonde. Failure of agreement was due to the Commissioners of Trust, who refused to concede O'Neill's demand that he should maintain an army of 6300 foot at the expense of the country ; the Commissioners would agree only to 4600. Owen's agreement with Monck and the Parliamentarians was only a temporary expedient by which he kept in being the army which alone protected the Catholic Irish of Ulster : and the time soon came when Ormonde was ready and willing to see him as strong as possible. But by that time Owen was a dying man, and Ormonde himself had incurred disaster.

Early in 1649 things had looked hopeful in Ireland for

what was no longer the Catholic but the Royalist cause. Under the peace, Inchiquin, commanding in Munster, was free to join Ormonde. The two marched to Finglas, outside Dublin. Inchiquin, with his usual energy, moved north, routed a strong party of cavalry which Jones had directed to Drogheda, then laid siege to Drogheda itself and took it ; next cut off a convoy with large supplies of powder which Monck, then in Dundalk, was dispatching to O'Neill. Partly from sentiment influenced by the execution of Charles, but more strongly from dislike of seeing supplies sent to the Ulster Catholics, Monck's Protestant troops turned on him and forced him to surrender Dundalk. Inchiquin, having put Royalist garrisons into this place and Drogheda, returned to Finglas in triumph.

But Cromwell was now known to be on his way to Ireland. Ormonde decided if possible to seize the capital before the new English army could land, but made the fatal error of dividing his forces. He sent Inchiquin with three regiments of cavalry to Munster, where Cromwell's landing was expected, and he himself directed the attack on Dublin. Jones, who behind the walls had a force equal to Ormonde's, came out, and on 2nd August 1649 was fought the Battle of Rathmines, in which Ormonde's army was completely destroyed ; all his guns and stores were taken. This was a fortnight before Cromwell landed, not in Munster, but at Dublin.

There remained intact in the north O'Neill's army of some 6500 strong, under a dying commander. In the south Inchiquin's forces were gravely disaffected, and Lord Broghill, the Earl of Cork's son, second in authority to Inchiquin, was already prepared to join the stronger side. There could be no doubt which that would prove to be. England was now united, and in powerful hands. For the first time since the war had begun England was able and ready to send whatever force was necessary for the reduction of Ireland.

Cromwell began, as was natural for a great general, by measures to restore discipline in an army much demoralised by being long unpaid. Then he marched north on Drogheda, into which Ormonde had thrown some remnants of his army after the defeat at Rathmines. The commander was an English Catholic, Sir Arthur Aston, who refused to surrender when duly summoned. Cromwell had overwhelming weight of artillery, the wall was breached and stormed, and by

Cromwell's order the entire garrison was put to the sword, with many civilians and all priests who were found. It is said that many were killed after quarter had been given; but the same was said, and in some cases admitted on the English side, in many earlier instances during the war. There is no proof whatever that this butchery, lasting three days, which by a Cromwellian's account exceeded three thousand five hundred persons, was needed to emphasise the display of crushing force. The essential fact is that Cromwell, having come to Ireland, adopted methods which would have been regarded as abhorrent in England, and were not employed in the English civil war. He dealt with the Irish as many European soldiers have dealt with non-European enemies.

The plea put forward, by himself among others, is that such "bitterness" would in the end save "much effusion of blood." He could point in support of this view to the fact that the garrisons in Dundalk and Trim immediately deserted, and these places fell at once into his hands. But subsequent history of his campaign and that of Ireton affords a very different argument.

Turning back from the Boyne, Cromwell rested in Dublin, then marched south through Wicklow, meeting no resistance till he reached the town of Wexford. Here again the summons to surrender was rejected, but with less decision, and negotiations were proceeding, though without a truce, when the castle was surrendered by a subordinate; the rest of the town was stormed, and another massacre followed. New Ross came next, and here also opposition was offered; but in this case Cromwell admitted a capitulation after the wall was breached. At this point Lord Broghill decided to change sides, and by his influence the troops in Cork and Youghal deserted Inchiquin and declared for the Parliament. But Waterford, twenty miles from New Ross, held out, and Ormonde concentrated what forces he had been able to draw together along the left bank of the Suir. They contained an element very different from the men whom Broghill represented: seven thousand Ulstermen had been brought down to the south.

After the death of Owen Roe, his army proceeded, under the terms of the arrangement which he had made, to elect a commander-in-chief. Two professional soldiers of high repute were available—General O'Farrell and General Hugh O'Neill,

Owen's nephew, known as Black Hugh. The troops wanted an O'Neill for leader, and Hugh claimed that "he knew the mind of Owen O'Neill and his way of managing the men." O'Farrell, though of higher rank, was ready to serve under him, as were all the near kin of Owen Roe; but Sir Phelim once more desired to assert himself. Other persons of importance objected to the choice of O'Farrell, and as a compromise, command was entrusted to a cleric, Heber MacMahon, Bishop of Clogher. The main body of the Ulstermen remained under him in the north, but such bodies of them as were scattered through Ireland came under Ormonde's orders, and were sent to Munster. Hugh O'Neill and O'Farrell joined them. Fifteen hundred of them under O'Farrell crossed the Suir to hold Waterford; another body under Black Hugh garrisoned Clonmel. Waterford held out till weather and sickness forced Cromwell to raise the siege and withdraw to Youghal. In the end of January he took the field again, and conquest spread easily over Tipperary; while from Dublin also his troops were working out into Leinster. Ormonde was driven to fall back on Limerick, where Inchiquin had gone after the defection of Cork; and Kilkenny, the capital of Confederate Ireland, was taken by the end of March. All the minor strong places in the Suir valley were captured, but Clonmel and Waterford stood out, and on April 27th Cromwell was before Clonmel. Hugh O'Neill and the Mayor, John White, sent appeal to Ormonde for relief by his army; meantime they refused to surrender. The works had been strengthened by O'Neill's skill, and it was ten days before a practicable breach appeared. The storming party, however, met little resistance on their approach to it, and passed through with a rush, to find themselves trapped. For about eighty yards inwards a lane had been opened through the houses, and loopholed on each side; at the end was a masked battery planted on a solid wall. The stormers poured in till this pound was full, the masked guns pouring chain shot on them, and the garrison from each side firing into the mass; in an hour there were a thousand dead in it, and what remained were driven back in dismay. It was, said Ireton, then commanding under Cromwell, "the heaviest ever endured, either in England or here." But O'Neill's powder was spent, and he had no choice but to slip out of the town secretly that night, counselling the Mayor to go to Cromwell in the morning

with an offer of surrender on fair terms. The Mayor did so, and Cromwell accepted the offer, believing that the troops were still within; but when he found himself outwitted, he did not break his word.

Clonmel was Cromwell's last military action in Ireland; he returned to England in May 1650, leaving Ireton in command. O'Neill made his way to Limerick, where he took command. Meanwhile in the north the bishop-general was commanding the main Ulster forces. On 21st June, against the advice of Owen Roe's chief officers, including his only son Henry, he gave battle to a strong force under Sir Charles Coote, at Scariffhollis, in the narrow valley of the Swilly, near Letterkenny, where so many battles had been fought. The English were equal in foot, much stronger in cavalry; and when the Ulstermen broke the carnage was complete. Bishop MacMahon fled, but was taken in Fermanagh and hanged. Coote maintained the tradition of his family, and put to death his leading captives, one of whom was Henry O'Neill. Quarter had been given to them, and less than a year earlier Coote had banqueted Owen Roe as his deliverer in Derry. Cromwell, in his dealings with the Irish, was humane and honourable as compared with many of the English settlers.

After this there was nothing left to do over most of Ireland but the reduction of detached garrisons. Sir Phelim O'Neill was driven to surrender the strong fortress of Charlemont in Tyrone, and so the subjugation of Ulster became complete. Preston in Waterford extorted fair terms from Ireton; and the only walled towns still resisting were Athlone, Galway, and Limerick. Ormonde was endeavouring to keep resistance alive in the west, but the ground was cut from under his feet by Charles II., now in Scotland at the head of an army. The young King publicly denounced the sinfulness and unlawfulness of the peace made with "the bloody Irish rebels" —to which peace, though he now denied the fact, he had himself consented gladly. Thus disowned by the King, Ormonde had to face opposition from the Catholic bishops, who desired to see a Catholic in authority. At the end of the year he left Ireland for the Continent, and appointed Clanricarde as his successor. Inchiquin went with Ormonde, and saw Ireland no more. But the war lasted for another two years, for the most part west of the Shannon. Ireton's attempt to pass the

line of the Shannon began in the early summer of 1651. The siege of Limerick lasted from June till the end of October. Hugh O'Neill had plague within the walls to face as well as the enemy outside, but he was undaunted, and the place was ultimately lost by the treachery of one of his subordinates. O'Neill himself was on a list of persons excepted from the possibility of pardon, and Ireton wished to execute him ; but the council of officers before whom he was brought to court-martial contained men so averse to this that after sentence of death had twice been passed they continued to oppose it, till finally Ireton yielded, and the life of this gallant soldier was saved, through the admiration which his conduct had won from loyal enemies. Athlone fell while the siege of Limerick was in progress ; Galway held out till May 1652, and after its surrender Clanricarde prolonged the resistance for several months, hoping, as Ormonde had hoped, for some turn in European affairs which might bring the monarchy back to power. It was a ruinous policy for Ireland, and Ireland had no interest in the Stuarts which should or could have justified it. The weaker the vanquished are left after a war, the more likely is it that they will have to bear the expenses of both sides. The interest of Ireland would have suggested making terms when the Confederacy had broken down, yet while Owen and his army were still in being. But undoubtedly excommunication would have been pronounced by the clergy against anyone who accepted any terms which it was then possible to secure from England.

It should be noted that in this war the Catholic bishops replaced to some extent the old tribe chiefs, who had disappeared : and their influence was not less than that of the lay rulers, but it was different in kind. They were moved necessarily more by consideration of the Church's interest and less by that of the people's material welfare. Zeal for the Catholic religion was one of the main causes which prolonged the struggle after it had become hopeless ; and it is not probable that this cause would have operated to the same degree but for the influence of the clergy faction in the control of Irish political affairs.

Yet their zeal at all events was concerned with a real interest of the Irish people, and perhaps their highest interest. Clanricarde and other royalists sacrificed Irishmen for the King's cause without a shadow of justification, since Ireland

owed the Stuarts nothing and had nothing to hope from them. Only one justification can be alleged for those who prolonged the war desperately. They had no ground to expect either justice or mercy for a conquered Ireland. Yet by the prolongation they brought it to pass that the plea for confiscation was enormously strengthened. England had been engaged simultaneously in two great wars ; one within her own boundaries between her own people, one in Ireland against those who were neither of England's religion nor of the English nation. When the end came, war debts had to be paid, and the temper of that age saw no injustice in using the conquered country as a capital from which all liabilities should be met.

The claims were mainly of two kinds : first, those of the adventurers who had advanced money, on the faith of a parliamentary promise, to finance war in Ireland. In point of fact, the money had been used for the war in England ; but the security pledged, both by Charles I. and by the Parliament in 1641–42, was two and a half million acres of cultivable Irish land. The second claims were those of the soldiers to whom arrears of pay were due, for service in England and in Ireland. They had to be met, and the need chimed in with the purpose of that policy which had been growing up in English statecraft since the days of Queen Mary—the substitution of English settlers for the native inhabitants of Ireland.

Perhaps the most significant thing in a terrible passage of history is the fact that the English Parliament in 1654 thought it necessary to declare that it did not intend to exterminate the whole Irish nation. That indicates what was feared on the one side, and hoped on the other. The declaration had for its motive a desire to bring back to civil life the " Tories," as they were called ; scattered men from the Irish armies, homeless and landless, who were unlikely to submit if submission were to mean a death sentence.

It should be realised that this war, unlike most wars, did not end by terms agreed between opponents. It was carried on till no organised authority was left which could negotiate in the name of Ireland. At the beginning of 1652 some movement was made towards a general surrender. But the forces, which had never been under a uniting command, were now wholly disorganised, and Colonel Fitzpatrick anticipated the rest by a surrender for himself and his division. He was

denounced as a traitor and excommunicated; but the example spread; and henceforward terms were made separately with the heads of separate commandoes on the basis of leaving the Irish soldiers liberty to take their lives out of Ireland and sell them elsewhere. Thus, Lord Clanricarde, who, as Lord-Deputy, had more title to be considered head of the Irish Government than anyone else at that moment, surrendered in June 1652, making terms for himself and his immediate servants, and getting leave to enlist 3000 men for service abroad. This covered most of Connaught. Lord Westmeath had signed articles of surrender for the Leinster army, Lord Muskerry the same for that of West Munster. Every facility was offered for men and officers to get abroad. O'Reilly, in the spring of 1653, made similar terms for Ulster. Both Spain and France were bidding for fighting men, and Cromwell was anxious to be rid of them. A lucrative traffic grew up in this cannon fodder, conducted, as a letter of the time says, by "merchants that now find the miserable Irishmen to be the best commodity in trade." Petty, who carried out the survey of Irish land for distribution, estimates that 34,000 soldiers were at this time transported from Ireland to the Continent, besides some 6000 boys, women, and priests. Those who had property and claims in Ireland left them, as they must, to be disposed of with the rest of the Catholics' possessions.

The original intention was to confiscate ten counties and earmark them for the satisfaction of claims. But claimants were clamorous in advance, and a preliminary propaganda was undertaken to stifle whatever opposition might be found in England. "Commissioners of Parliament for the Affairs of Ireland" had been appointed at Cromwell's suggestion, and they reached that country in January 1651. In April 1652 their Scoutmaster, General Dr. Henry Jones, presented to them a Report concerning the alleged brutalities committed by the Irish at the beginning of the Rebellion. This Report was fully utilised in the intervening months while the Act for the Settlement of Ireland was preparing. Mr Dunlop observes: "For a long time afterwards hardly a letter left Ireland without containing some reflection on the blood-guiltiness of the nation, and the necessity there was of propitiating the Divine wrath for the innocent blood spilt, by bringing the authors of the massacres to justice."

The Act of Settlement took the place of terms of peace made between belligerents. England was in a position to impose terms, and these were her terms to the conquered. Over one hundred persons were excepted by name from the possibility of pardon; but the main penalties were imposed by classes. Mr Dunlop says:

"Not one single person, of whatever nationality he was—Irish, Scottish, or English,—was exempted from the consequences of participation in the Rebellion, either by having to lose his life, or his property partially or altogether, unless he could prove that he had been constantly faithful to the interest of England as represented by Parliament, or by subsequent explanations could plead some special act of favour in his behalf."

In short everyone in the country was regarded as guilty; and unless he could prove innocence, his property was taken. There was laid down a definite discrimination against Catholics in regard to land. Protestants were to forfeit one-fifth, Catholics one-third. Catholics incurred forfeiture unless they could prove "constant good affection to the Commonwealth": it sufficed for a Protestant to prove some individual act of service. "Those who suffered most seriously," says Mr Dunlop, "were the Anglo-Irish gentry in Leinster and Munster, of whom it will hardly be asserted that as a class they had any hand in the massacres perpetrated. More than half the land confiscated was their property. This fact alone is sufficient to disprove the theory that the Cromwellian Settlement was the just retribution taken by the English Parliament for the massacres committed or said to have been committed on unoffending Protestant settlers. What the English Parliament had in view was not, as is so often asserted, the avenging of innocent blood, but the rooting out of Roman Catholicism in Ireland. The end could only be achieved by confiscating the soil of Ireland and the plantation of it with English Protestants."

Another historian, Gardiner, has computed that under the terms of the Act 80,000 persons were liable to death. There is no doubt as to the purpose of these clauses. Executions were only to follow the finding of a High Court of Justice, and they did not in the end amount to more than 200. But by holding terror of execution over the heads of a vast multitude, willingness to leave the country would be

stimulated among those who could bear arms. The real design was on property—on the land.

It only took definite shape when men applied their minds to carrying out what had been decided in principle—that public debts amounting to a million and three-quarters should be met by grants of Irish soil. This left open the question of what should be done with the present inhabitants. Singularly enough, the proposal to transplant a population was first put forward with respect to the Scotch settlers in Down and Antrim, who were disaffected to the Commonwealth and were considered dangerously near to the Royalists in Scotland. A plan to move them into the south-eastern counties was formed, but never carried out. Instead of this, the Commissioners were instructed by Cromwell himself that such Irishmen as were entitled to retain any portion of their estates were to be provided with land in Connaught. None, except those who could prove constant fidelity to the interest of England, as represented by the Parliament not by the King, were permitted to retain land east of the Shannon. Clare was included with Connaught.

One reason for the selection of Connaught was probably the endeavour to solve a difficulty. Galway, owing to the solid building of its houses, was a place very difficult to reduce, and Coote, in order to induce capitulation, conceded terms which secured to the citizens their property in full, and also exempted two-thirds of the province from confiscation. The surrender took place, and Parliament repudiated the terms. This breach of public faith was not readily or generally accepted even by Parliament's partisans, and when the settlement of claims was in debate, the Commissioners repeatedly inquired what was to be done about the articles of Galway. Faith was broken, but in such a manner as made it possible to represent that it was broken to provide for the dispossessed Irish of other provinces.

There are very few parallels in human history for what was now undertaken in Ireland. In a country of four provinces, to drive all the inhabitants from three provinces into the fourth, and to replace them by a new race, was an enterprise so vast as to be almost inconceivable. It was never carried out. Orders were issued, and renewed, that all persons liable to transplantation must be across the Shannon by a fixed date, originally set at 1st May 1654, and later extended to

1655. In certain cases it was literally obeyed: the barony of Eliogarty in Tipperary was reported to be left without one person who knew the country. But for the most part, nothing was completed but the plunder. Those who had nothing but their lives were suffered to remain. They were needed, in point of fact, if the land were to be worked. But those who had property were driven to seek such compensation as they could get in Connaught, at the expense of other Irishmen.

The result of the Cromwellian policy was failure, ghastly and irredeemable. From its own standpoint, it could only be justified if Protestantism replaced Catholicism. Even by the eighteenth century the older creed was again predominant in numbers everywhere, except in those parts which the Cromwellian settlement did not touch. North-east Ulster was not made Protestant by Cromwell.

What really dates from Cromwell's action is the creation of a Protestant ascendancy. The land was taken from Catholics as Catholics and given to Protestants as Protestants. Catholics were allowed to remain upon it as hewers of wood and drawers of water. For more than two centuries the power of England in Ireland was directed to maintaining this ascendancy. Very few now will assert that it was founded upon any principle of justice. The essential fact, however, is to realise that necessarily it appeared to Catholic Ireland to be founded upon injustice: and this feeling affected and coloured the whole attitude of the Catholic population towards the system of law and the Government which maintained a social order relegating them to inferiority in their own country.

It is right also to understand the spirit of those who imposed the Cromwellian Settlement. Undoubtedly many of them believed that they were doing a just and necessary work, which was God's pleasure. Probably not hypocrisy but a genuine superstition inspired the fear expressed by some of them when plague broke out, lest it should be God's visitation on them for undue leniency to the Papists. But it is the fact that their fanaticism was always limited by a sense of their personal interest; they spared not upon principle, but those persons whom it suited them to spare. A drastic application of the Old Testament teaching which they so urgently cited would have urged them to a wholesale

killing out of those who would not be converted. We can say with certainty that the public conscience even of that time would not have tolerated such a measure. Those who seek to excuse the Cromwellian policy in Ireland on the ground that it was a natural outcome of the code of public morality which then prevailed in Europe have to remember that Owen Roe O'Neill was Cromwell's contemporary. There is no utterance or action of Owen Roe which needs to be excused or defended upon principles that would not be admitted to-day. The Cromwellian conquest was not the substitution of a higher civilisation for a lower : it was the conquest of a weaker nation by a stronger, barbarously carried out. The English Parliamentarians had done much to advance the principles of freedom in their own country. The fatal flaw in their action was that they did not apply those principles in Ireland.

Finally, it has to be observed that the Cromwellian action was only the culminating point of English action in Ireland. It was a wide and violent extension of the policy carried out under James I. in the Ulster plantations, and this again originated in plantations under the Tudor sovereigns. As a policy it was substantially thorough, and was maintained in its entirety by England when the monarchy was restored ; and though reversed for a moment under James II., it was reasserted under William and Mary. In the eighteenth century England stood to Europe for freedom, but not to Ireland. Liberty of conscience was a principle for which England fought under Cromwell ; but under Cromwell it was defined that this did not include the right to profess the Roman Catholic religion ; and in substance England maintained that limitation in regard to Ireland for a century and a half. Macaulay has expressed it by saying that Ireland's servitude was necessary to England's freedom. The necessity may justly be disputed ; but the fact that England acted on this assumption must always be remembered by those who seek to understand Irish history.

A detail of the Cromwellian period needs to be remembered as typical. Several thousands of the Irish were transported to the West Indies to supply forced labour on the tobacco plantations. They were in the same position as coolies to-day, with the important difference that they were forced to go, and that there was no period set to their servitude. In 1669

—under Charles II.—there were eight thousand of them in Barbados alone.

It should be noted also that the English Parliament summoned by Cromwell which authorised his Irish settlement was the first to contain representatives of Ireland. There were six in the 140 who constituted the Little or Barebones Parliament—all nominated by Cromwell's Council of State. Next year, in 1650, the first parliament under the Protectorate had thirty Irish members. In Richard Cromwell's Parliament of 1659 the question was debated whether Ireland should have a separate legislature or representatives at Westminster. Some Irish members were for the former, on the ground that Ireland would always be overtaxed by an assembly in which the Irish must be always a minority. One hundred and six voted against representation at Westminster, one hundred and fifty-six for.

Finally, as a social detail, it should be remembered that by the time of the Twelve Years War Ireland was already dependent on the potato crop, and that the war greatly increased this cultivation. Potatoes are much more difficult to destroy than corn, and they can be, and then always were, left in the ground and dug when wanted.

CHAPTER XXIX

AFTER CROMWELL

According to the best authority of that time, Sir William Petty, the twelve years of war had cost Ireland one-third of its population, now reduced to under a million. Half a million Irish, over one hundred thousand of English extraction, had perished—plague, bred of war, and famine, produced deliberately to destroy opposition, having killed far more than the sword. Wolves had become a pest up to the very neighbourhood of the capital. The best cattle-producing country in Europe was importing meat from Wales. Amid this devastation the process of distributing what had been Irishmen's land to those who were enemies of the Irish went on, not steadily, but with constant wrangling and confusion. Then came the Restoration, and inevitably it brought a passion of hope; Ireland expected fulfilment of the treaty made with the king in 1649. This would have annulled the Cromwellian confiscations. No less inevitably hope became raging disappointment.

Charles II. was brought back to the throne by England. England preferred a monarchy which it could control, through the constitution which had slowly developed in England, to a Protectorate resting on the support of extreme and fanatical theorists. In bringing about the Restoration, Irish Protestants played a very considerable part, and men who had opposed Charles I., notably Sir Charles Coote and Lord Broghill, were of importance in bringing back Charles II. Monck, the guiding spirit, had been their ally in Ireland against the king and against the Irish. But the Catholic Irish, helpless and broken, neither had nor could have any hand in restoring the Stuarts. For fulfilment of the treaty with them they had nothing to trust to but the king's justice, his fidelity to a compact, and his statesmanship.

But Charles II. was a man entirely without principle,

and entirely opportunist. His sole purpose was to retain the position to which he had been restored; and though for his pleasure he might jeopardise it, he certainly would not from a conviction of right or wrong. If he had a view of duty, it was to regard himself as trustee of the principle of monarchy. He had no scruple about falsehood; and though he was not harsh by nature, he would never risk anything to protect the weak against the strong.

His personality was of special consequence to Ireland, because of its effect on Ormonde, who under the Restoration had most power in Ireland. Ormonde was, by all the standards which he recognised, an honourable, upright man, with a high sense of duty, and much broader views than were common in his time. But he was a man of his time—a Royalist when the very principle of monarchy was only just recovered from ruin; and to such a man the king's command was reason sufficient for anything. Also, though he certainly desired the welfare of Ireland, and did much to assist it in detail, he always held that the interest of the monarchy took precedence of Ireland's interest.

In national events a great injustice cannot easily or cheaply be set right, and the attempt to do justice in Ireland must have imperilled the re-established monarchy. There had been two wholesale confiscations in Ireland, equally unjust; and there were many persons living in 1660 who remembered the earlier injustice of the Ulster plantation. Yet the interests which had grown up under it, created by the State, were so solid that in 1660 even the Catholic Irish spokesmen did not propose to touch them. But the other confiscation, whose reversal they demanded, was only in progress; it had not the sanction of time, it could have been rectified without real injustice to those who profited by it, but not without great cost. The burden of the English and the Irish war, which had been thrown entirely upon Ireland, must have been distributed between the two countries. But there was no will in England to do this justice, and the king, if he had had the will to attempt it, must have faced a most formidable opposition. In Ireland the new possessors were in power, armed and entrenched; the dispossessed Catholics were disarmed and scattered. Ormonde was certainly not the man to counsel Charles to risk his throne in the hope of contenting Catholic Ireland.

Yet Ormonde had a special responsibility, for he had concluded in 1646 the peace with the Supreme Council. It indeed was repudiated by Rinuccini, and the strongest part of the Federation declined to accept it But in January 1648–49 (before the king's death) Ormonde had signed the peace at Kilkenny. Rinuccini again repudiated it. but plainly this repudiation did not represent Ireland ; Rinuccini had to fly from Kilkenny; and later in the year Ormonde made his treaty with Owen Roe which extended the articles of that peace to Ulster. On it the Catholics now relied. It had given a full pardon to the Irish, except such as might be convicted of murders by a specially agreed tribunal. Charles II. in 1650 had written from Breda pledging himself to stand by what his father had pledged. The word of both kings declared that there should be no confiscation, except where murder was proven against the owner of the property.

Yet if we are to understand the facts, their meaning must be perceived. In 1646, 1648, and 1650 the king spoke as if he had the right to speak for England. The claim had no reality. In the war, Ireland was conquered by England ; that was the reality ; the king, whether Charles I. or Charles II., had from 1646 onwards no hand in the conquest. The peace which Ormonde made was not made by England. Charles II. was now recalled, to speak and act as King of England. If his first act were to undo England's work in order to maintain the king's promise, he would be claiming a power which England was very unlikely to allow him.

The Cromwellian conquest is a dividing line in Irish history, for thenceforward Ireland had to deal not with the King of England but with a parliament representing the English people. The English public had a hostility to the Catholic religion which Charles II. did not share ; but they were extraordinarily jealous of the king's action in Ireland, because they feared a renewal of the attempt made by Strafford to build up a power in Ireland which the king might use to coerce the English people.

It very soon became clear how dangerous it would be to interfere with the broad lines of Cromwell's policy. The Irish Government first decided that those soldiers and adventurers to whom lands had actually been allotted should retain what they had got ; that those who had not yet secured allotments should receive a portion of their claim, but not all ;

and that "innocent Papists" were to be restored to their estates. Where these had been allotted to soldiers or adventurers, the allottees were to be compensated elsewhere.

It was immediately perceived that there would not be enough land to go round. Ormonde said that if all the competing claims were to be satisfied, a new Ireland must be discovered. No attempt, however, was made to economise what was available. Ormonde himself got a grant of 100,000 acres, over and above his immense estates; and the king's brother, afterwards James II., got 77,000 acres while the discussions proceeded. But the whole project broke down over the proposal to reinstate "innocent Papists." This term had been defined in a way that made it extremely difficult for any Irish Catholic to establish a claim to restitution, yet four thousand claims were put in, and six hundred cases were actually heard before the Court, consisting wholly of English commissioners. Most of the verdicts went for the claimants. There was immediate clamour, led by the men who had gained most under Cromwell's confiscations; and a new Act was passed which debarred the claimants as yet unheard from the promised recourse to justice. In truth, justice was not the object; the Government's policy was that "an English interest should be established in Ireland," as Charles II. himself declared.

This meant, broadly speaking, that the restored monarchy upheld the Cromwellian confiscations; and they were carried out under Charles by two measures, called the Act of Settlement and the Act of Explanation. It may be taken that before 1641 Catholics possessed three-fourths of the cultivable land; after these Acts, they were left with one-fourth. After 1660 two-thirds of all Protestant landowners in Ireland held their title under the arrangements of Cromwell carried out by Charles II. It is not possible to decide how much was left to the old Irish. The Earl of Thomond and Lord Inchiquin, who stood practically alone as Protestants in this class, retained great estates. Among the Catholic nobles, Lord Muskerry, who was restored by special favour and created Earl of Clancarty, had wide possessions. Lord Clanricarde, a highly prominent Catholic who had consistently refused to join the Confederation, was also re-established in full. Lord Antrim, head of the Scottish MacDonnells, had been royalist throughout, and he also did not suffer. Another, Sir Daniel

O'Brien of Thomond, who had fought for Elizabeth in his youth and for Charles I. in this war, was restored to his estate and given the title of Lord Clare—afterwards famous on European battlefields. But except for these imperfect links with the traditional past, the whole system of chieftainship in Ireland, which had come down through centuries, was swept away. Those to whom the Irish people looked as their natural leaders retained only a sentimental and vanishing tradition of respect. In an age when power and the authority that goes with power were generally associated with the possession of land, possession was taken from those in Ireland to whom the tradition of authority belonged. In an age when landlords were the masters, Ireland was given over to landlords, the great majority of whom came in as conquerors, hostile by blood, by tradition, and by their religion, to those over whom they exercised their power. Their attitude to those who became their tenants, living under their authority, was from the outset absolutely different from that which naturally prevailed among the ruling class in England. It was still more unlike that of the great Scottish owners, among whom the clan-headship transformed itself gradually and naturally into the modified leadership under the new order. In Scotland a Gaelic State was slowly altered. In Ireland it was, within a period of less than a century, crushed and destroyed.

Students should understand that what happened in the seventeenth century was not merely the transfer of property from certain persons to others ; nor even the penalising one religion which was that of the vast majority, and endowing that of a small minority at the general expense. It was the destruction of a ruling class in a country which was still aristocratic ; it was the depriving Ireland of its natural leaders—that is, of those leaders whom Ireland willingly recognised. Broadly speaking, all countries in Europe were then aristocratic. England led the way in revolution, but in 1660 deliberately went back to aristocracy, which soon became oligarchy. France, later, made its revolution and destroyed its aristocracy ; but the movement came from France itself, and, being ready for the movement, France was ready to replace its aristocracy. In Ireland the revolution was imposed from without ; the class of nobles was swept away by a foreign power ; but there was imposed in their stead a new privileged class, whose leadership rested on no

consent from those over whom they acquired control, who were divided from them by a religion that was erected into a caste, and who were expressly barred from intermarriage with any person of Ireland's national religion. Gradually, it is true, links formed themselves between the new ruling families and the population on whom they were imposed; leadership and rule came to rest on a new tradition, and affection grew on both sides. But as a whole the ruling class in Ireland, while their privileges continued, never lost the sense that they were, as their ablest spokesman put it, the heirs of a confiscation planted among a sullen surrounding populace. All the political power in Ireland was in the hands of a small class; and this was true also of England. But the connection between that class and those below it was in England quite different from what it was in Ireland, and political development could spread harmoniously in England. Those who made the laws and administered the laws were a small class in both countries; but the bulk of the population in England could, and in Ireland could not, feel that those who made and administered the laws for them were part of themselves. Irishmen's attitude towards the law as something alien, for which they had no responsibility and to which they owed no natural allegiance, was the inevitable consequence.

Peace was desired everywhere, as was natural after so long a devastation by war; yet peace was for a long time much broken by brigandage. The Tories found leaders among dispossessed Irishmen of the noble class, who led bands that were really little armies or flying columns. The country at large suffered by them, though doubtless their raids were mainly directed against the new settlers; but inevitably the people sympathised with them and learnt to shelter and protect their illegal actions against the law, and to honour those whom the English law treated as felons.

But if in this way Catholics were being welded into opposition to law made and administered by Protestants, another process of fusion began at once to operate. Charles II. and his Government abandoned the principle which Cromwell had set up and renewed the Irish Parliament's separate existence instead of calling Irish members to Westminster. But the English executive had now asserted and obtained power over finance, and its relation to the Irish Parliament was that of complete supremacy laid down by Poynings' law.

The special importance of Charles II.'s reign in Irish history is that it marks a new stage in England's relation to Ireland. The desire that an English interest should be established in Ireland was nothing new: every sovereign since Henry II. had felt it: and every sovereign, except perhaps Henry VIII., had desired to keep the English interest in Ireland separate from the Irish. But while power resided in the sovereign, there had been no jealousy of whatever prosperity this English interest might achieve. From the Restoration onwards power had passed from the monarch to representatives of the English people, and they from the first refused to consider the English in Ireland as identical or equal with the English in England. England had now a much completer control of all Ireland, and was determined that Ireland should be governed in the interests of England, not of the Irish people, whether native or immigrant.

Relying on Poynings' law, English Governments claimed and exercised complete supremacy over the Irish Parliament and Irish legislation, although they treated Ireland as a separate country and Irish interests as alien. The first measure of this reign touching Irish commerce was the Navigation Act of 1663, which forbade the direct export of commodities from Ireland to the English plantations—then comprising all North American possessions: and in 1670 direct import from any plantation was also forbidden. All cargoes must be loaded and unloaded at a British port, thus increasing the cost to Ireland. Irish ships were put on the same footing as those of France, in short. There were, however, certain exceptions which included Ireland's principal imports, so that this restriction was not as yet severely felt.

Very different was the series of English Acts from 1663 to 1667, which, in the interest of English farmers and landlords, totally prohibited the importation of Irish cattle, sheep, or pigs to England. Irish cattle were solemnly declared by Parliament to be "a nuisance." Yet at this time, since Ireland was desperately short of population, and the land was very largely in the hands of men unskilled in agriculture, pasture extended over an immense extent of it and live stock was the chief part of what Ireland had to sell. For some years terrible distress resulted. But the policy proved to be shortsighted. Irish farmers and merchants threw themselves into the trade of preparing and packing salt beef:

and with that went a development in the export of butter, tallow, and hides. All these found a ready market on the Continent and competed successfully with the English article: it led also to direct shipment from France and Holland of goods which previously Ireland had bought from England.

Another result was that sheep largely replaced cattle, and the country was farmed for wool. This trade was considerably hampered by an Act of 1522 which prohibited the export of wool except by special licence—an Act imposed with the purpose of developing woollen manufacture in Ireland. It was maintained later to prevent foreign countries from competing with England's woollen trade by procuring Irish wool, which was equal to the English and superior to their own. From the Restoration on, a great trade in smuggling wool grew up; there was also much export under licence to England; but finally the Irish turned to manufacturing their own wool for export. The Irish population had always clad themselves with their own products, and Petty notes that the cottiers, for all their misery, were at least warmly clad in their homespun. There had also been a manufacture of finer fabrics, but in the Twelve Years War much of the machinery had perished, and, what mattered more, the hereditary accumulated skill seemed to be lost. Yet England regarded with special jealousy even the beginnings of a possible competition. The jealousy did not distinguish between the products of Irish Protestants or Irish Catholics—it was the Irish interest against the English interest; and Catholics combined freely with Protestants at this period to pursue the Irish interest. The provision trade and the woollen industry were largely in their hands.

The Duke of Ormonde as Lord-Lieutenant exerted himself to foster Irish manufactures, but he was specially responsible for bringing into Ireland settlements of the Huguenots, who had been banished from their country for cause of religion. Some of them started woollen manufactures at Cork and Waterford, others began to work linen, especially in Ulster; for the beginnings made by Strafford to organise this industry on a large scale had perished in the Rebellion.

On the whole the legislation of Charles II.'s parliaments did not inflict much injury in Ireland; indirectly it even helped Ireland and damaged England by a mistaken policy. But the English Parliament had made clear a hostile intention

towards Ireland's commercial interests, of which the monarchy had afforded no example.

One result of the restrictions imposed was to limit the receipts from duties on export, and also to develop smuggling; in both ways the revenue suffered. So, for the first time, a direct tax was imposed on the whole people. This was the hearth tax of two shillings a year on every fireplace, which lasted on through the eighteenth century. It must be remembered that a shilling then was nearly equivalent to a pound to-day, and the poverty of the people was appalling. Out of 180,000 houses in the country, 160,000 had not even a chimney. They were huts, ten or twelve feet square, of walls mostly mud. The hearth tax represented at least four days' wages. Moreover, this tax, like all others, was levied by tax farmers who had the power to levy excesses for delay, and the amounts finally demanded were enormously in excess of the tax itself. On the Ormonde estate, Mr Bagwell says that £13,000 was sought from persons who could show that they owed less than £700. The poorer the people, the more certainly they are oppressed; and it would be difficult to imagine a poorer people than the native Irish after the Restoration had confirmed Cromwell's work.

Religious persecution was on the whole suspended. Nobody attempted to force the Irish, by fire or sword, into becoming Protestants. Charles himself was averse from religious bigotry, and would probably have wished to provide in some measure for the Catholic clergy. All the revenues of the Church were, however, used to maintain the Establishment, and they were so distributed that they did not suffice to provide churches or ministrants, though many absentee divines were enriched. Neither Charles nor Ormonde would have ventured to offend the official Church in order to conciliate Catholics' religion, though they were quite ready to connive at the profession of their religion.

There was, however, in both countries a party which constantly desired to stimulate the Government into violent action against Catholics as such. The invention of a Popish plot manufactured by Titus Oates and others naturally extended its ramifications to Ireland. Archbishop Oliver Plunket of Armagh had been in Ireland since 1670, openly exercising his spiritual functions. In 1673 a proclamation was issued which ordered that all Catholic bishops and

members of the regular orders should leave Ireland ; though secular priests were still tolerated. The order was not drastically carried out, and Plunket hid for a while, but by 1679 had long been going about openly. He was arrested in consequence of the Oates propaganda, and was first brought for trial to Dundalk, where no witnesses appeared against him. He pleaded to be tried by a jury of Louth Protestants who knew both him and those who were suborned against him ; but he was sent to London. There a body of perjurers, carefully drilled, swore away the old man's life. He was denied the time necessary to get evidence from Ireland to rebut a charge of high treason, he was allowed no counsel, and was sentenced to be hanged. Protestant opinion now recognises this as a judicial murder. Catholic opinion has been expressed by the official beatification of Oliver Plunket as a saint and martyr.

Thus although Catholics were less molested under Charles II. than they had been at any time since the accession of the Stuarts, although they could serve as officers, could practise at the Bar, could inherit, buy, sell, or lease land without restriction, and could enter freely into every branch of trade and business, yet it was inevitable that when Charles II. fell ill they should look forward with eager expectation to the succession of his brother, a Catholic sovereign. It was not less inevitable, when James II. became involved with his English subjects in contests which arose largely from his desire to improve the position of Catholics, that Ireland should once more take sides with the king against the majority of the English Parliament and people.

CHAPTER XXX

KING JAMES'S PARLIAMENT AND THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE

When Charles II. died in 1685 Ormonde ceased to be Lord-Lieutenant, and the chief power in Ireland passed to Richard Talbot, of Anglo-Irish stock, who had been one of the chief agents for pushing Catholic claims at the Restoration. James made him Earl of Tyrconnell, and his first task was to remodel the army in Ireland, replacing Protestants by Catholics. In other branches of the State the same process went on ; Protestant judges were replaced by Catholics—not universally, but so as to give Catholics a preponderance : and the like was done in the town corporations, which under the Cromwellian dispensation had been made exclusively Protestant. Tyrconnell was at first employed with an ill-defined commission under Lord Clarendon, a Protestant Englishman, but in the beginning of 1687 Clarendon was recalled and Tyrconnell became Lord-Deputy. A year later an English Catholic, Fitton, replaced the Protestant who had been Lord Chancellor.

These measures for transferring power from representatives of the Protestant interest to that of the Catholic majority were not and could not be executed without grave injustice to individuals, who were displaced solely for their religion. Moreover, the revision or reformation of municipalities was carried out by a process of law which can only be defended by saying that James, through Tyrconnell, adopted the same methods to oust Protestants which his predecessor had employed to put Protestants into power. Law was strained through judges employed for the purpose. Yet it is grotesque to speak of James's policy in Ireland as fundamentally unjust. James was a Catholic, King of Ireland as well as of England ; he was, moreover, conscientiously a believer in the right and duty of kings to administer their kingdoms ; and in his kingdom of Ireland he found those subjects who were of his own

religion reduced because of their religious belief to a position of servile inferiority. This is sufficiently indicated by the fact that the Parliament of 1663 contained no Catholic, though Catholics were three-fourths of the population. When a parliament was called in the reign of James II., it contained several Protestant peers, spiritual and temporal, and six Protestant members of the Commons : in both houses there were active spokesmen of the minority. The representation was inadequate to the number of Protestants in the country ; but the reason is plain : a great majority of Protestants were in rebellion against King James, who still legally and actually ruled in Ireland. Many of them had left the country before William of Orange landed in England in November 1688 : a vast number fled before the parliament began to be elected.

It was very natural that Protestants in Ireland, living among a Catholic population so recently despoiled for their benefit, should feel grave disquiet when they saw military force transferred from Protestant to Catholic hands. Yet the first intention of King James was to use these Irish troops to strengthen his Catholic monarchy in England, and in July 1688 he brought five thousand men across ; it was probably one of the chief causes which led to his downfall, for the feeling in England against the Irish had in no way abated, and the ballad doggerel of "Lillibullero," which is said to have "sung the King off his throne," gave voice to this detestation. After the landing of William and the flight of James, the position was that while England had driven out its king, both the Government and the people in Ireland adhered to him. While the banished sovereign remained in France, there was much disturbance and perplexity in the kingdom which still recognised his authority. In the south some Protestant settlers were plundered by local bands, successors to the Tories ; and a body of Protestants drew together in Wicklow for mutual protection. They submitted to a strong force of soldiery, and over a hundred of them were put on trial for high treason, but the trial came to nothing. In March 1689 the Protestant gentry of Munster grouped themselves together as a military force and endeavoured to cross Ireland to Sligo, then in Williamite hands. All were captured by the Sheriff of Galway, they were tried and sentenced to death, but in no case was the sentence carried out ; and James pardoned their leader, Sir Thomas Southwell of County Limerick. The

Irish Government, when it was in Protestant hands in 1641, had dealt very differently with those whom it regarded as even tainted with rebellion. Thus the authority held by Tyrconnell for James in the three southern provinces was asserted, but not savagely ; and yet in Ulster that authority had been successfully challenged.

At the close of 1688 great panic was caused by the circulation of an anonymous letter declaring that there would be a massacre of Protestants on 9th December. Thousands fled by sea ; but in the north they gathered into cities of refuge. Tyrconnell, when sending half of his standing army to assist the king in England, had withdrawn a regiment from Derry. Into that strongly walled town, and into Enniskillen and Sligo, Protestants—Scots and English alike—came crowding. Lord Antrim with his regiment was ordered to move to Derry and occupy it ; for as yet no open renunciation of the king's authority had been declared. Antrim's twelve hundred men, known to be all Catholics, were seen approaching the gates, and there was general terror of the threatened massacre, but no one in civil authority took any active step. It was a handful of apprentice boys who rushed to Ferry Quay Gate and shut it in face of the advancing column. Antrim made no attempt to force an entry, but withdrew to Coleraine. The inhabitants then organised themselves into companies for defence, yet still parleyed apologetically with Tyrconnell's representatives, and finally agreed to admit two companies of soldiers under Colonel Lundy, who was appointed governor of the town. The place was in communication with England by sea, and in the spring of 1689 Lundy accepted a commission from King William. Derry was thus formally in rebellion against James.

In Enniskillen the Protestant governor, Gustavus Hamilton, set himself to arm Protestants from the time when the panic began. Here also Tyrconnell had left the fortress without troops on whom he could count, and here also when he sent them it was too late. Unlike the Derry men, the Enniskilleners made up their minds in advance, sallied out in force to meet the approaching troops, and drove them off in disorder at Lisbellaw on 16th December.

At Sligo also the Protestants held the town, and, like those of Derry and Enniskillen, expelled all Catholics. Outposts were established at Manor Hamilton and Dromahaire, and

connection was maintained from here to Enniskillen and from Enniskillen to Derry. Lundy was accepted as commanding the whole of this area. An attempt to create another centre of resistance was made by the Protestant gentry of Down and Antrim, but failed. Ulster's opposition came from the north-west, not the north-east. When James landed from France at Kinsale on 12th March 1689, Sligo was evacuated by Lundy's order; and when the king reached Dublin all Ireland was at his command, except Derry and Enniskillen and the area which they could command by expeditions.

Tyrconnell had already many men enlisted and could have any number he required; but he had neglected or had been unable to provide military stores, and, as usual in Ireland, his troops were unpaid, and, as usual with unpaid troops, they pillaged. James brought with him 20,000 muskets and powder, with a large sum of money provided by his ally Louis XIV. Several experienced French officers of high rank came also, but no body of troops. D'Avaux accompanied James as Ambassador of France, and as representing the monarch who provided the sinews of this war.

It should be noted that this alliance made James and his cause specially detestable in the eyes of Protestants, for Louis had just revoked the Edict of Nantes and inaugurated a period of penal laws against the reformed religion; he had also devastated the Palatinate, driving out a very industrious and excellent Protestant population. Not unreasonably it was supposed that he expected James to act in the same spirit.

The immediate military problem was the reduction of Derry, and the Royalist army, commanded by Van Rosen, moved north, accompanied by James, who, however, turned back on reaching Omagh. Lundy was reported to be in the field with a large force; they menaced opposition at the ford across the Mourne, between Strabane and Lifford, but fled precipitately. When the enemy approached Derry walls, negotiations for surrender were opened. But before they could come to an issue, Adam Murray, who proved to be the chief soldier of the siege, got into the town, and Lundy was driven out by the garrison. The actual siege opened in April, and lasted till 31st July. Throughout the temper of the besieged was superior to that of the attackers, and in sallies and encounters outside the walls they more than held

their own. Yet it should be remembered that the famous siege was mainly a trial of endurance ; the beleaguering army was ill provided with ordnance, and was in truth led without enterprise. The fighting men killed on the Protestant side only numbered eighty. But the whole town had to endure, and endured with perfect courage, the last extremities of famine. It is clear that no such ordeal should have been imposed on them, for Kirke lay off Lough Foyle with a strong fleet, and made no attempt to force a passage through the blockaded channel. When on 28th July three ships faced the duty, the *Mountjoy*, commanded by a Derry sailor, forced the boom, but went aground ; her companion vessel, the *Phœnix*, passed ; and, the tide rising, the *Mountjoy* floated clear and reached the quay with her cargo of stores. Her commander, Boyd, who had stood at the helm till he was shot down, lived long enough to know that he had succeeded, and his name will never be forgotten in Derry.

Disease had reduced the army of the besiegers till they were little more numerous than the garrison, and now that the hope of forcing surrender by famine was ended, there was no choice but to raise the siege. On that same day, 31st July, an even greater blow had been struck elsewhere in Ulster at James's power. Enniskillen had also been attacked in March, but the men who had gathered to this centre were a formidable body ; not citizens and shopkeepers like those of Derry, but the gentry and farmers from all the counties of which Enniskillen is the centre : horsemen by habit, accustomed to the use of firearms, and still keeping the temper of pioneers in a hostile country. They drove off in rout the first force sent against them, and from this time out saw to it that there was no siege of Enniskillen by taking the offensive in all directions.

Yet they had no mean antagonists. James's son by Arabella Churchill, the Duke of Berwick, afterwards one of the most famous commanders in Europe, operated with a flying column from Derry. In the direction of Sligo, with a forward post at Manor Hamilton, Sarsfield was in command ; and an army was known to be moving up from the south under Colonel MacCarthy, a kinsman of Lord Clancarty. Yet at the end of April the Enniskilleners defeated an Irish force from Connaught at Belleek on the Erne ; in May, Lloyd, their best soldier, carried an expedition through Cavan, and

as far as Kells in Meath, returning with vast booty ; in June he captured Belturbet, in the north of County Cavan, and its garrison, with 700 stand of arms. In July Berwick defeated one of their flying columns at Trillick, a few miles north of Enniskillen, but it was their only reverse ; and on 31st July, when MacCarthy moved up in force, a battle took place in the swampy lands about Newtown Butler, near the east end of upper Lough Erne, and the rout of the Jacobites was complete. MacCarthy himself, who behaved with great courage, was taken in trying to retrieve his captured guns ; Sarsfield, who had threatened from the west, had to fall back westward on Sligo ; Berwick, then moving on Donegal, returned eastward to the main body, which was now retreating in confusion from Derry. A fortnight later the Duke of Schomberg, with a force of some 10,000 men, landed in County Down, occupied Belfast, and proceeded to invest Carrickfergus, which, after a stout resistance, surrendered on 20th August. Newry was evacuated later by Berwick, and Schomberg passed unopposed through the Gap of the North and occupied Dundalk. All Ulster and the gateway of Ulster beyond the Ulster line were thus lost to James by the beginning of September.

These months were decisive in the history of Ireland, for they determined the character of Ulster. Protestant Ulster with its allies fought Catholic Ireland with its allies, and Protestant Ulster won. The victory of the Boyne a year later only crystallised the result. Had Schomberg turned southward at once, instead of north, he could almost certainly have gained Drogheda and Dublin ; James had no serious force to oppose to him, and the failures at Derry and at Newtown Butler had left his forces hopelessly disorganised.

We have to consider why the balance swung as it did. In the three southern provinces, Protestants were in a negligible minority ; they could offer no serious resistance. In Ulster they were roughly half the population of the province. But the Protestants were from the first in control of all the important points ; they were an armed population, who still kept the solidarity of conquerors and the confidence bred of recent conquest. They were a community far more easily organised for war than an ordinary civil population, and their allies, though separated from them by the sea, had full control of the sea, and could and did reinforce them with armament.

Above all, at the critical period they were under their own natural local leaders.

The rest of Ireland was at this time in an extraordinary condition. During the war of 1641–52 it was still in the main, and Ulster was entirely, tribal. But the Cromwellian transplantations had finally destroyed the tribal system. The essence of tribal organisation is the rule of tribal chiefs, and though in many cases the tribesmen had remained on the soil, all their leaders had been swept away ; the native Irish population had been jumbled together confusedly into an incoherent mass. The nation had hardly yet begun to form itself again on new lines, which could not be tribal. Owen Roe's name had perfectly definite associations with Ireland's historic past ; so had that of MacCarthy, Lord Muskerry, and, in a somewhat different sense, that of Inchiquin, that of Clanricarde, that of Ormonde. But the characteristic Irish figure of the Jacobite or Williamite war is Sarsfield. He became from the first the rallying-point of the new Ireland ; his fame eclipsed that of his Gaelic forerunners, though their achievements and abilities were much greater than his. For more than a hundred years he stood out to the Irish imagination as the embodiment of those who fought and lost the last fight for Ireland. Yet till the Jacobite war the name of Sarsfield meant nothing to Ireland.

The Sarsfields were typical Anglo-Irish gentry of the Pale holding a large estate near Lucan. Patrick's father was a Catholic, married to a daughter of Rory O'More, the leading rebel ; and he suffered confiscation under Cromwell. Yet this Sarsfield had taken so little part with the Irish that his eldest son William established innocence in the Court of Claims set up under Charles II., being one of the six hundred whose cases were heard. The younger son, Patrick, who ultimately succeeded to the property, went abroad to serve, and after the Restoration became a captain in Charles's footguards. He commanded a regiment under James, fought at Sedgmoor against Monmouth and at Wincanton after William's landing. In Ireland he had immense popularity from the first, but James did not promote him willingly, and through all the critical phases of the struggle he was subordinate to French officers.

Thus, if we regard the struggle as being one between Protestant Ulster and Catholic Ireland, all the advantages

except those of numbers were on the side of Ulster ; and after a period that advantage disappeared. Ulster's ally, England, sent stores in profusion, and finally sent men in such numbers that the weight of combatants was on that side. It cannot be said that the Irish war was pushed with energy under either William and his Dutchmen or James and his French. In September James mustered a large force and offered battle to Schomberg, who preferred to remain within his entrenchments at Dundalk. James then took up a position at Ardee, and the armies watched each other. In the winter that followed, both armies rotted away with disease. Ireland was then so swampy, wooded, and undrained that troops always suffered terribly if kept for long in the field. Schomberg's losses were appalling, and he was obliged to fall back on Belfast. With able leadership it is probable that he might have been driven out of Ireland before William reinforced him ; but James exercised a paralysing influence on the whole conduct of operations while he was in Ireland. His mind was throughout set on England, and he never appears to have realised the essential importance of consolidating his power at least in the kingdom left to him ; nor did he give directing influence to any Irishman. As had happened when the Confederation of Kilkenny was established, the mind of Ireland, or of those Irishmen who counted at such a time, appears to have been turned from the military problem to political affairs.

It was in May 1689, while Enniskillen and Derry were the only centres of Protestant resistance, that the Irish Parliament of James II. was summoned. The Upper House consisted of fifty-four, eighteen being bishops, of whom six were Protestant. Tyrconnell, now created duke, was chief of the temporal peers ; Lord Clanricarde, son of the man so distinguished in the war against Cromwell, represented the de Burgh stock of Connaught ; Lord Antrim, the settlement of Scots from the Isles. Colonel MacCarthy, created Lord Montcashel, was of the old Eugenian house of Munster ; and though the Protestant O'Brien peers, Thomond and Inchiquin, were absent, there sat another O'Brien, Lord Clare, who as Sir Daniel O'Brien had been active on the Royalist side in the earlier war, and was restored and given a title under Charles II. The Earls of Clare were destined to win fame, but not in Ireland.

The returns for the House of Commons show how strongly the clan spirit held even after the break-up of the tribal

organisation. O'Neills, Magennises, Macmahons, and O'Reillys were elected for the districts in Ulster which once had their names from these lords ; in Munster it was the same, MacCarthys, O'Donovans, and O'Briens being sent. In Leinster, Wicklow chose an O'Toole and O'Byrne, Longford an O'Farrell ; in Connaught, beside the O'Dalys and the Burkes, the original English settlers of Galway, Martins, Blakes, and Kirwans were represented ; while the counties of the Pale and the old English chose Butlers, Fitzgeralds, Nugents, Graces, and Purcells, and others of old Anglo-Irish stock. One other should be named : Lally of Tullinadaly, near Tuam. The O'Mullalys were a branch of the O'Kellys who ruled beside the Burkes in Hy Many—that is, East Galway ; and two of this family had been Archbishops of Tuam in the sixteenth century. The name, shortened and anglicised, is still common in Connaught. As Lally Tollendal, it was illustrious during the last century of monarchist France.

Even the Cromwellian element was there : Lord Granard, son of the Sir John Forbes who led a predatory expedition for the adventurers of the London Stock Exchange, made a good representative of it. Except for Protestant Ulster—it is a large exception—this parliament was very fully representative of Ireland, and incomparably more representative than any other which ever sat in Dublin till 1923

The king opened it in person, and thanked the Irish nation for its exemplary loyalty "in preserving the kingdom for me and putting it in a position of defence." He declared himself "for liberty of conscience and against invading any man's property."

The Acts of this parliament are not important by their effect, since they were not destined to operate ; but they are of extreme importance as indicating the temper of Ireland. They began with a recognition that James, by right, as they held, King of England, was also by the same right King of Ireland. They repealed Poynings' Act, and declared that the Parliament of England cannot bind Ireland. An English Act, they decreed, should only have effect in Ireland if re-enacted by the Irish Parliament. No appeal from the Irish Courts was to be allowed to any Court in England ; the High Court of Parliament in Ireland was to be the Supreme Court. All disabilities imposed on Irishmen by reason of their birth was removed. Religious freedom was established : no man

was to be barred from any office or privilege because of his belief. Tithes were to be paid by all, but the tithes paid by Protestants were to go to their own Church. It may be said of this legislation that it conforms to the principles of justice generally accepted in the modern European world, and it was in this respect at least a century and a half in advance of any laws made for Ireland by the British Parliament. It was legislation for Ireland according to Irish ideas.

The most important part, however, of this parliament's proceedings is by many historians considered to have been unjust. It reversed the Act of Settlement, and upset titles to properties established by law quarter of a century earlier. The nature of the Cromwellian settlement confirmed under Charles II. has been already explained. It was a wholesale confiscation which rested on no principle but the right of force, acting through a law-making machinery ; and such a settlement may assuredly without injustice be overturned by the dispossessed when they acquire control. Broadly speaking, those who were endowed with land in Ireland, at the expense of the Catholic Irish, received their land in payment for service rendered in war or in money against the Catholic Irish or against the king in England. There is no conceivable logic which can justify the Cromwellian settlement that does not justify the undoing of it, except on the assumption that Catholics and Protestants are not equal before the eyes of justice.

Yet unquestionably hardship arose, and was admitted in the case of a large class who had purchased lands in Ireland originally granted to adventurers or soldiers. There were Catholics as well as Protestants among them. Those who bought were indeed buying a title which rested on the recent spoliation of a whole people, and could not therefore be considered as secure, and this diminished their claim to compensation. Nevertheless, the claim was admitted by the Irish Parliament. The manner in which they proposed to meet it is connected with an act of injustice. They declared that all property in Ireland belonging to supporters of William should be confiscated, and that from this source compensation should be provided for those who had purchased land granted under the Act of Settlement. There was nothing novel or contrary to the principles and practice of English law in this proceeding. Most of the titles held by Englishmen in Ireland

entitled them to land originally confiscated because its possessors were held to be in rebellion. James was king in Ireland in fact and in legal right. But in detail the proceeding was unjust. Any owner of Irish land dwelling in a part of the three kingdoms which did not acknowledge King James was held liable to confiscation, unless he appeared and cleared himself in an Irish Court within a time specified; and it was physically impossible for many of them to do so. It is at least doubtful whether a majority of them became aware of the Act in time to give them a chance to comply with it.

The injustice, however, was in detail, not in principle. In principle it was a proposal to seize the lands of those actually in rebellion against King James in order to carry out the projected resettlement of Ireland. Revision in detail would have been inevitable if the Act came to be put into force, for the Act of Attainder, by which some two thousand persons were marked for confiscation, was so hastily drawn that men were classed as rebels though actually serving in James's army. On broad lines, the intention was to restore the Catholic Irish and Anglo-Irish to the possessions which they had held in 1641, and to dispossess the adventurers, soldiers, and others to whom this land had been granted. There was no proposal to dispossess Protestants as such; but since a vast majority of Irish Protestants had sided with William, the majority of Protestant titles would have been confiscated. Yet this confiscation would only have been a new application of a principle repeatedly enforced by English rulers in Ireland; and it was clearly laid down that such Protestants as were willing to accept the rule of James, exercised through an Irish parliament, should live free and undisturbed in the country. There is no evidence that government of Ireland according to Irish ideas meant penal laws against Protestant citizens.

The rule of James and his parliament was, however, short-lived, and it was rendered unpopular by the resource of all Governments in difficulties, a depreciated coinage. Brass money was introduced, exactly as modern Governments use paper, and with the same results as the Great War rendered familiar to Europe. Gold disappeared from circulation, silver followed it.

With the spring of 1690, military operations on a large scale began. Louis XIV. sent to Cork an army of 7000 French under Lauzun—an incompetent commander. But William

sent more than the equivalent to Ulster, and in May Schomberg was able to reduce the one remaining Jacobite stronghold of the province—Charlemont, in Tyrone. Colonel Teague O'Regan held it till his garrison were chewing raw hide, and then surrendered with all the honours of war. On 14th June William reached Carrickfergus. There were now two extremely competent Dutchmen in command against James and Lauzun, whose army was about the Gap of the North. The first skirmish took place between Newry and Dundalk, and the Irish won ; but the English prisoners overstated William's force and caused some trepidation. James fell back to Ardee and thence to the Boyne, where he determined to stand.

James had some 23,000 men, William 36,000 ; the disparity in armament was enormous. Before the battle began on 1st July, William had nearly 10,000 men across the ford at Slane, a few miles on James's left, threatening the flank and the line of retreat. This is to say that the fight could only have one result. William's main body crossed the ford at Oldbridge, a mile above Drogheda, where the monument stands ; there was a regiment of French Huguenots, there were 5000 Danish veterans, and there were the Inniskilling Foot, who had been formed into a regular regiment of the British Army. William, who was grazed by a cannon shot before the advance began, none the less led across the ford, and was hit by a bullet in the foot while crossing ; Schomberg died leading his troops. The Protestants were led by brave men. On the other side, James headed the movement to Dublin. On reaching it he told Lady Tyrconnell that the Irish had run basely. "I see," said the lady, "that your Majesty won the race." Sarsfield with his division was scarcely in the fight ; he commanded the king's bodyguard, and the king, unlike William, did not risk his person.

The Irish foot, untrained and ill-armed, broke ; but their cavalry fought furiously ; Schomberg lost his life trying to reinforce the Huguenots when they had been broken. On the other side, it should be remembered that when William had crossed the ford he put himself at the head of the Inniskilling Dragoons ; that famous regiment also dates from this year. By 6th July William was in Dublin and James was out of Ireland. After this the war was decided, but the real fighting had only begun.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE TREATY OF LIMERICK

After the flight of James the Irish forces had drawn together at Limerick, by no orders but as if, says a contemporary writer, "by some secret instinct." The line of the Shannon was held, and Connaught was intact for the Catholics. For this the credit was due to Sarsfield. Sligo had fallen back into Williamite hands after the retreat from before Derry and the Battle of Newtown Butler; in September 1688 Lloyd with his Enniskilleners had crossed the Curlew Mountains and defeated a Jacobite force at Boyle. This added to the enthusiasm of those who thought the Ulster Protestants invincible and rated the Irish enemy very low; and Schomberg was induced to send a body of horse to cross the Shannon at Jamestown, make a junction with a force from Sligo, press down the river to Athlone, and then take Galway. But Sarsfield had been sent into Connaught with a small force, and by energetic recruiting and training had raised it to 2000. With this command he fell upon Russell's force and annihilated it, capturing those who were not killed. Pressing his success he took Sligo, and so secured the province from north to south. This was the sole important achievement on the Irish side since the war began, and its credit, combined with the effect of an attractive personality, gave Sarsfield a weight in council far beyond that of the rank grudgingly accorded to him. He was from the king's withdrawal leader of the war party among the Irish. Lauzun was for abandoning the struggle, Tyrconnell shared his view; and the first question was whether Limerick should be defended. Lauzun said the walls could be battered down with roasted apples; but Sarsfield carried his point, and an able Frenchman, Boisseleau, was put in charge of the place. Meanwhile William had sent a force west from Dublin to seize Athlone and the main passage into Connaught.

Sarsfield moved rapidly up the east bank and forced William's general to raise the siege, which had lasted ten days. William now with his main force moved on Limerick, Sarsfield and his cavalry keeping touch of the enemy. Behind the Shannon Tyrconnell and Lauzun withdrew to Galway, and left the fords of the Shannon unguarded. William threw a part of his army across the river, thus threatening Limerick from both banks, and with his main body hastened to summon the place to surrender. Well aware that counsels were divided in the Irish camp, he had pressed on ahead of his battering-train, hoping to decide the matter simply by the appearance of his force. But Sarsfield also had his information, and, learning that the siege-train was on its way, he slipped out of Limerick by night with 600 horse, on the Clare bank, crossed a little-used ford where the Shannon leaves Lough Derg, and lay in ambush on Keeper Mountain, where his scouts brought him word that the convoy would make its last halt at Ballyneety in the Limerick plain. From the slopes of Keeper he could see the column move heavily to its camp, and his attack was made at night; the escort was sabred or scattered, the guns, ammunition, and pontoons blown up and burnt.

The success had no intrinsic importance, for William got another battering-train by sea; but it must have had immense effect on the spirit of the garrison. Sarsfield was not in the siege, for Tyrconnell summoned him to a council of war at Galway; but Ballyneety set the key, and the garrison maintained it.

The siege of Limerick is entirely unlike that of Derry; it was no blockade, but a regular attack pressed by a trained and well-equipped army under William in person. It was directed from the low ridge of Singland on the Limerick shore against what was called the Irish town on that bank: for here, as about all the Anglo-Irish cities, an outer settlement had grown up, left to the native Irish. The original city of Limerick was on the island, but that on the south bank had grown in importance and was now also encompassed with walls and had a screen of outlying forts. The most important of these was breached and assaulted on 20th August, and there was a fierce battle outside the walls for its possession before it could be carried and a new battery erected close to St John's Gate. From this the wall was breached, and on 27th August a storming-party of 500 was directed against it with

10,000 men in reserve. The breach was rushed by surprise and the assailants got in ; the garrison rallied and drove them out. Three times that day the attack was renewed, three times it was repulsed. The losses had been so terrible that William had no choice but to retreat. It was a grave check, and it opened the way for two possibilities : one a renewed struggle with strong reinforcements from France ; the other a composition for the Irish upon the best terms obtainable. Neither policy was effectively adopted. There is no doubt now that composition would have been the better course, if one could suppose that the agreement reached would have been observed.

The main argument for continuing war against an enemy whose superiority was so overwhelming was that William's hold on England was still very insecure, and that his army in Ireland was wasting by disease. He himself left Ireland, putting Ginkel in command. On the other side, Tyrconnell and Lauzun both started for France, Tyrconnell having delegated his authority to a council of twelve for military matters and a council of twelve for civil affairs. Nothing worse could have been invented, and Sarsfield with his party pressed the Duke of Berwick to assume the office of Lord-Lieutenant, but he refused. Tyrconnell returned, and appears to have concealed the fact that Louis had decided on renewing the military attempt, though apparently with a new intention. When St Ruth, the newly appointed generalissimo, reached Limerick in May 1691, bringing a reinforcement of arms, he claimed to command in the name of King Louis, not of King James. It appears that there was a private understanding between the King of France and Tyrconnell, according to which Tyrconnell was designated for a new kingdom of Ireland. Sarsfield for a period refused to serve under St Ruth on the new terms, and this led to illwill between him and the Frenchman.

Serious observers were aware how difficult to accomplish was the complete subjugation of the Irish. One writer in the State Papers says that disease and famine could alone be relied on to crush out the race, too numerous to be killed off in fighting. Sir Charles Porter, one of the Lords-Justices, wrote to propose that amnesty and restoration of estates should be offered, with free exercise of their religion for Catholics. He knew, however, " that the English here will be

offended if the Irish are not quite beggared" ; and, on the other hand, realised that there was no probability of surrender till some considerable success had been achieved. The success, however, was more considerable than he hoped or was entitled to hope.

In the early summer, when Ginkel's campaign began, the line of the Shannon was intact, and his first effort was directed against Athlone. He reduced Ballymore in Westmeath, which had been garrisoned as an outpost ; its armament was quite inefficient. Then without difficulty he captured the English town at Athlone, on the Westmeath bank. But the defenders crossed the bridge and blew it up behind them ; and St Ruth moved up his army to within two miles of the Irish town. Ginkel, he said, would deserve to be hanged for attempting to cross, and he himself should deserve to be hanged if Ginkel succeeded. Yet Ginkel crossed.

The fault was not with the Irish soldiers, who defended the crossing from their trenches under a heavy bombardment with perfect constancy. At one moment the attackers succeeded in throwing a temporary bridge of planks across the broken arches ; but a party of eleven went out to cut away this woodwork under the fire of an army and worked till the last man was killed ; then eleven more took on the task and completed it. Twenty of the twenty-two were dead, but the bridge was again impassable. Other attempts were repulsed, and St Ruth in his camp was complacent, but left the trenches to be manned by two raw regiments provided with only two rounds a man. Ginkel learnt this, tried the assault again, and succeeded while St Ruth, preparing for a shooting-party, refused to believe those who told him that the English were crossing.

Sarsfield, who knew the traditions of Irish war, now pressed the Frenchman to fall back on the traditional Fabian policy which Owen O'Neill had pursued and avoid battle ; but St Ruth took another view. At Aughrim, eighteen miles west of Ballinasloe, he found an admirable position on a line of eskirs facing a bog, and here he challenged attack. Here personally he behaved like a brave and competent soldier, but at the critical moment he called on only half his reserve and chose to lead them himself, leaving Sarsfield with the other half of the cavalry out of sight of the action behind the slope of the eskir ridge. In the charge St Ruth fell, struck by

a cannon-shot, and the line wavered ; the English seized their opportunity, and Sarsfield only came into action when the broken ranks of his side were streaming over the ridge. For a second time in a great battle on Irish soil he had the chance only to save a retreat from becoming a rout.

Left in command when the game was lost, Sarsfield fell back on the Clare mountains, while Ginkel moved on to Galway, which he reached on 19th July. After two days' hesitation this city surrendered ; the garrison was allowed to go to Limerick, and a treaty was made which guaranteed to the citizens their estates and the free exercise of their religion. Then William's general marched on Limerick ; Sarsfield, anticipating him, entered the town with his force, and the second siege began. Ginkel got across the river, and the English town on the island was bombarded from both sides : the wall was breached ; Thomond Bridge, connecting it with the Clare bank, was captured ; and in the town itself there were divided counsels. A French expedition was known to be coming, but it did not appear. Away in the north of Connaught, Sligo, fiercely defended by old Sir Teague O'Regan, was forced to capitulate. Sarsfield at last decided to treat. It would seem that Ginkel managed his business well, for the treaty was concluded on terms less favourable to the Irish than the Lords-Justices were then prepared to grant ; and two days after it was signed the French fleet appeared in Dingle Bay.

The question as to whether Sarsfield should not have driven a better bargain is only academic. Sarsfield actually forced from the English a treaty which they could not break without forfeiting their honour, nor keep without forfeiting their inclination. Since, in the event, inclination was too strong for honour, and even the lesser advantages secured for Irishmen under the compact were taken away by gross breach of faith, there is no reason to believe that a treaty more favourable to the weak would have been better observed. In judging Sarsfield's action, history must ask whether he was justified in concluding a treaty which had no guarantee for its performance but the good faith of King William of England. No external guarantee was possible ; and as a part of the compact he sacrificed the sole internal one available—fear of a new Irish war. It was part of the stipulations that he, with as many of his men as chose to follow him, should go abroad into

the service of France. Eleven thousand departed ; Ireland was left without even the nucleus of possible resistance ; and for a period of ninety years no general resistance was offered in Ireland to the darkest oppression.

Yet Ireland will never censure this most popular of her heroes, the last who headed Irishmen in a struggle to which no historian refuses the dignity of legitimate and admitted war. Henceforward, those who fought against England in Ireland were to fight with a rope round their necks. Those Irishmen who still desired to fight against England found ample opportunity, and hundreds of thousands followed Sarsfield's example. Ireland has accepted him as typical of all these " Wild Geese," and has attributed to them all the sentiment of his last words, when he lay in the uniform of a Marshal of France on the field of Landen, and, as he looked at the life-blood flowing from him, muttered to himself : " Would to God this were for Ireland."

CHAPTER XXXII

THE PERIOD OF THE PENAL LAWS AND COMMERCIAL RESTRICTIONS

For more than a century before the Treaty of Limerick, Ireland had been repeatedly ravaged by general war of the most horrible kind. Yet during the two long periods of peace—forty years which followed the death of Elizabeth, and twenty-eight years after the Restoration—there was a marked progress in general well-being. For more than a century after the Treaty, Ireland's peace was absolutely unbroken, and during the greater part of this long rest the country was morally and materially degenerating. The system of government must be held responsible for this failure to recover. England had absolute power over Ireland during this period, and used it so as to inflict the maximum of injury that is possible without the actual destruction of war. We have to recognise that public opinion of that time regarded any measure as justifiable and salutary which weakened your natural enemies ; and Catholics were regarded as the natural enemies of Protestants. Secondly, the public opinion of Europe then considered that a mother country was always entitled to prefer its own interest to that of its colony, and to impose upon a colony whatever restrictions suited the mother country. England, then, regarded Ireland as an English colony, a subject possession. These views may be justly condemned, yet the condemnation must be limited by recognition of the standard which existed. We may condemn Mohammedanism because it allows polygamy, but must admit that a Mohammedan may fairly think himself justified in having four wives.

What has to be recognised in judging England's action in regard to Ireland is that no public opinion of that day allowed a public breach of faith. A covenant with Catholics was binding on the honour and the conscience of Englishmen, and the penal code was founded in a broken treaty. This fact

explains much of its accumulated atrocity. When a stronger race has broken faith with a weaker, as has often happened in history, the stronger always turns to regard those whom it has wronged as wretches outside of the pale of law and the obligations of conscience.

There is no use in recalling the detail of a compact which was never kept. The Treaty of Limerick, however, did not guarantee to Catholics full religious freedom. It undertook that they should have the same position as they occupied in the reign of Charles II. At that time the laws passed under Elizabeth prohibiting the Mass were a dead letter ; Catholic worship was open and undisturbed ; Catholics were on the judicial bench, at the Bar, they held commissions in the army, they voted at elections, they were eligible for parliament. They held also perhaps one-fourth of the soil of Ireland, and held it without any special disability ; they rented or leased land on equal terms with other citizens. Further, by the treaty the Government pledged itself to endeavour by new legislation to secure them against any disturbance on account of their religion. No attempt was made to keep this latter pledge, which involved doing something. Within two years, the mere negative engagement that they should not be deprived of the position in which James II. found them began to be broken.

From the first publication of the treaty the issue was plain. In Dublin, Dopping, the Bishop of Meath, preached before the Lords-Justices that since Catholics kept no faith with others, faith should not be kept with them. Dopping was very properly struck off the Privy Council, and another bishop on the following Sunday in the same pulpit inculcated the duty of keeping public faith. On the third Sunday the feeling of the conquerors had so manifested itself that a Dean was put up who preached that the Treaty of Limerick should be kept, if possible. The Irish Parliament of William, called in 1692, refused to embody the articles of the treaty in law. The English Parliament made the first breach in them by declaring Catholics incapable of sitting as members of Parliament. In 1695 a new Irish Parliament was summoned, which got a free hand to tear up William's pledges. It began, though it was far from completing, the penal code ; but it surmounted the initial difficulty : it decided that the treaty should be waste paper. The English Government did not

pass the penal code, but it consented to it. In the course of a hundred years after William's victory it vetoed innumerable measures proposed by the Irish Parliament for the advantage of Ireland; but it gave the Irish Parliament a virtually unfettered hand to impose what penalties it liked upon Catholics.

These penal laws may be considered in two classes: first, those designed to prevent the free exercise or teaching of the Catholic religion; secondly, those intended to prevent men professing it from holding a position of any importance, or from retaining the marks of rank, or exercising the ordinary functions of citizenship.

The laws passed under Elizabeth which prohibited Catholic worship altogether and compelled attendance at the Anglican service had never been enforced; it was never found possible to enforce them. A compromise was set up by the law of 1703, which ordered Catholic priests to register their names and parishes. A priest so registered might celebrate Mass in his own parish, but nowhere else, and might not have a curate. Over one thousand registered themselves. Then another difficulty was raised. An oath of abjuration was exacted, which compelled the assertion that the heir of James II. had no title to the Crown, and pledged perpetual loyalty to the Protestant succession; in other words, the Catholic Irish priest was asked to swear that no Catholic could ever rightfully become sovereign of his country. This oath was refused by virtually the whole priesthood, so that no priest was secure against the penalty of banishment. Further, no Catholic archbishop, bishop, dean, or vicar-general was allowed to reside in Ireland, on penalty of being hanged and quartered; a reward of fifty pounds was offered for the detection of any such dignitary, and twenty pounds for that of a friar or unregistered priest. "Priest-hunting" became an industry; it was also enacted that unregistered priests if taken should be branded. The Irish Privy Council had proposed a more atrocious mutilation, but in this instance the English Government moderated their zeal. Any Catholic might be compelled by two Justices of the Peace to declare when he last heard Mass, and what priest officiated, under penalty of a year's imprisonment if he refused to answer. Unless martyrdom is to be regarded as a duty of all citizens, such a law legitimises perjury; and when a law has this

effect the foundations of civic life are destroyed. They were most efficaciously destroyed in the Ireland of the eighteenth century, when a vast series of enactments was imposed upon the mass of the people, which could have no result but to revolt their consciences. Another clause, which offered thirty pounds a year, levied off the district in which he lived, to any priest who became a Protestant, necessarily made the whole system of legislation appear deliberately wicked and corrupting.

To the eternal credit of Irishmen, priests and Catholics multiplied under this system. The Protestant Primate reckoned in 1727 that there were "more than three thousand Popish priests of all sorts here," as against about eight hundred Protestant incumbents and curates. He believed that Papists were about five to one over the whole country. This was after all the blood-letting of the seventeenth century, after the huge importation of English Protestants, and after more than thirty years of penal legislation. Those who wish to understand the hold of Catholicism upon Ireland must realise the prestige which it earned in those days, when every one of its dignitaries was a man hunted for his life, and yet its ranks were full of volunteers, whose only reward could be a pittance from voluntary contributions of the poor, already tithed by law to support the religion of their oppressors.

The direct persecution of priests, which priests in thousands were ready to defy, may be truly said to have served the cause of Catholicism in Ireland; but this code had a more disastrous side. Education was prohibited. No Catholic could enter the university. None might keep a school, nor act as tutor; there was a reward of ten pounds for the discovery of a Popish schoolmaster. It was a penal offence for a Catholic to send his children to be educated abroad; if a man died while his children were young, no Catholic was allowed to act as their guardian—a Protestant must control their upbringing. Charter schools were provided at the public expense for Catholic children; but in them the children must be brought up as Protestants. The result was to deny all organised education to a people avid of learning. Yet there was teaching. Hedge schools sprang up, which in their more developed forms became "classical academies," teaching mathematics, Latin, and Greek, as well as Irish and English; but it was a contraband trade, and its agents had

the lawless character of smugglers. The only authority over the teachers was the parish priest, who could give or withhold his countenance and sanction ; the schoolmasters were often men of very imperfect morals, often in trouble with their clergy ; often poets too, men of the type of Robert Burns, and Ireland owes them much. But theirs was a lawless occupation. The people were trained through generations to regard the law as hostile alike to religion and to education, except to such religion and education as involved forswearing their faith ; what was best in them was turned against the law. Law was set against the common conscience of Catholic Ireland in so many and so vital matters that a profound national demoralisation resulted.

For in any civilised community law and morality are, broadly speaking, in agreement. Morality is ahead of written law, which always lags behind the best standards of civilised men ; one who does merely what law enjoins is seldom a creditable member of society, and may often be dishonourable. But in a civilised state any law which is repugnant to the conscience of the community ceases to be law or to have force as law. In Ireland of the penal code, so much of the law was necessarily against the public conscience that the whole system grew to be discredited, and nothing remained binding in honour and conscience upon Irish Catholics save what the code of their religion enjoined. The law of the Church stood ; the law of the land was deprived of all moral authority. Two consequences followed which operate to this day. The first was a general disinclination to hand over any culprit to the penalties of a law so discredited. No one can assert that it was morally right for Catholics to assist in enforcing the laws against Catholic religion ; yet the law enjoined this as a duty, and imposed punishments on those who failed to do so. Men refused, rightly, to do what the law enjoined in this instance ; it was only natural that they should refuse in other cases when the right was less clear. Even where punishment was admittedly deserved, they preferred either that there should be impunity, or to take punishment into their own hands. In this way the second important consequence came about, and the Irish people claimed to be their own avengers.

It was, for instance, inevitable that the priest-hunter, the man who took a bribe to deliver a Catholic priest to the arm

of the law, should be detested; hardly less inevitable that violence should be used against him with public approbation. Those who used such violence were criminals before the law, but the community to which they belonged could not so regard them. Inevitably it detested anyone who brought them in their turn into the power of the law. The informer, whom the law sought to produce, was a creature whose existence the Irish community sought to make intolerable. And so step by step the Irish nation, in so far as it was Catholic, became banded together in an attitude of conspiracy against the law of the land; a conspiracy sanctioned by the law's attack on what the Irish people held most sacred.

But the penal code did not limit itself to inflicting penalties on the Catholic priest or Catholic schoolmaster who were doing things definitely forbidden by law: it imposed disabilities even on the most law-abiding Catholics as such. They were in 1672 forbidden to sit in the Irish Parliament; they were, by a later law in 1727, forbidden to vote at a parliamentary election; they might not be magistrates, barristers, solicitors; they might not be members of a corporation or a vestry. They might not own a horse worth more than five pounds; any Protestant offering five pounds might claim any horse owned by a Catholic. They might not enter the army or the navy; they might not own or carry arms. These provisions affected especially the upper classes, and were designed not only to disable but to humiliate; and more must be said of their effect. Yet even the lower middle class were harassed by the laws which forbade them to be freemen of any corporate town, or to live at all in the cities of Limerick and Galway. A Catholic artisan could only carry on his trade in a town on condition of paying "quarterage," a special imposition. But the effect of all these regulations together was insignificant as compared with the laws relating to land; for Ireland was then even more than now an agricultural country.

There were still, even after the fresh confiscations which followed the Williamite war, a certain number of Catholic landowners; but the proportion of Irish soil in Catholic hands was insignificant, and the penal code was designed not merely to prevent its increase but to limit it still further. No Protestant might sell land, give land, or bequeath land to a Catholic; if any such transaction took place, the first

Protestant who informed got the property. When a Catholic landowner died, he could not bequeath his estate as a whole ; it must be divided equally among his sons, unless the eldest chose to become a Protestant, in which case his father must leave the whole to him. The injustice of these enactments was so generally felt that Protestants joined with Catholics in an honourable conspiracy to defeat them ; in many cases estates were bought in Protestant names by Protestant friends for Catholics, and the trust passed on from generation to generation. There were cases too in which a Catholic, dying before his children were grown up, left them to a Protestant guardian, who saw to it that they were educated in their own religion. These laws, however, touched mainly the few but important remnants of the Catholic upper classes. The bulk of the population was more closely concerned in the laws for working farmers. No Catholic could take a lease for more than thirty-one years : he could take no lease at all, unless the rent were so high that it represented two-thirds of the profit from the land. If his profit were more than one-third—if, that is, paying £50 a year, he could be shown to earn more than £25—the first Protestant who informed could get the farm from him. At every point the law against Catholics was made operative by the encouragement of informers. It was an inevitable consequence that Catholics should combine in defiance of the law to make the informer's occupation unprofitable and perilous. From all these causes combined there grew up inevitably in Ireland a kind of secondary code, hostile to the law of the land, yet far more binding in honour, and, as time went on, enforced by far more dreaded penalties.

These laws against Irish Catholics were the work of Irish parliaments, in which none but Irish Protestants could sit. They separated at all points the interest of Protestants from the interest of Catholics ; they made Protestants the ministers and Catholics the victims of a code which at many points was repugnant to the code of honour recognised among all civilised men. The whole system implanted in the mind of Protestants the conception of themselves as a garrison set in Ireland to keep down a conquered people ; and it was demoralising to both. Lecky quotes the judgment of Dr Johnson, who was probably the most representative Englishman of that century : " The Irish," he said, " are in a most unnatural state, for we there see the minority prevailing over the majority. There

is no instance, even in the Ten Persecutions, of such severity as that which the Protestants of Ireland have exercised against the Catholics."

Yet from Dr Johnson's standpoint, and that of England, both Protestants and Catholics in Ireland were Irish, and as such were subject to disabilities as compared with the English. These disabilities, imposed on Ireland as a whole, were imposed by a commercial code inspired by principles then operating through the Governments of all Europe, which at this period directed all their policy to secure the utmost possible proportion of trade for the country which they represented. Part of that policy was to control the commerce of their oversea possessions, colonies, or, as they were then called, plantations, solely in the interests of the mother country. Ireland was regarded by English statesmen as a plantation—not without some reason, for England had done its best to dispossess the natives and put Englishmen in as owners. The case, however, differed from that of other plantations, because in Ireland one Christian European race claimed by virtue of conquest the right to dispossess another ; and, further, because the distinction of religion was now substituted for that of race. All Irish Papists, whether of Anglo-Irish origin or Gaelic, were treated virtually as the Indians in America. The Protestants were treated as the colonists through whom the possession was controlled. It should be said that Protestants of Gaelic origin had the same position as any others of their religion ; the O'Briens in Clare had for the most part adopted the new religion, and they were precisely on a level with other Protestant landlords. In Leinster, Kavanagh of Borris, representing the old ruling MacMurrough stock, died while his children were minors, and they were brought up as Protestants ; from that time the Kavanagh estates were secure and began to increase. They were part of the Irish interest which England recognised and which was represented in the Irish Parliament ; but it was clearly distinct from and made subservient to that of Great Britain in all matters regarding commerce and finance. This interest could not revolt, because Protestant ascendency, natural in Great Britain, was against nature in Ireland, and could only be supported by the British connection. British statesmen knew and presumed on this. They exploited Ireland as a whole for the benefit of Great Britain, and more specially of England, because they

knew that Catholic Ireland could not and Protestant dare not resist. By so doing they counteracted in some measure the effect of those laws which kept Protestant and Catholic apart in hostile camps. This undesired result was the only service which the English Government rendered to Ireland during the eighteenth century, and unhappily it was very incomplete. But it ought to be understood that no statesman in the earlier part of the eighteenth century thought it wrong to subordinate the interest of dependencies to that of the mother country. Public opinion only very slowly came round to accept the view that colonists were entitled to protect their own interests and to have the benefit of those principles which England applied to its own citizens.

The first important instance in which an Irish trade was checked because it competed with an English interest was the law passed under Charles II. against exporting dry cattle to England to be fattened there. This closing of the English market caused frightful hardship, but in the long run was of advantage. Ireland turned to the exportation of a finished article instead of raw material. They fattened their own cattle, and exported salt beef to the Continent and to the plantations. They had to learn care in packing, and the lesson helped their trade in butter; and they soon rivalled England successfully in many markets, for England was then a food-exporting country. Moreover, the trade was carried on in Irish ships. This foreign trade of Ireland was also gravely limited by an English Act which prohibited Ireland from exporting wool anywhere but to England, though Irish wool was in great demand throughout Europe. But this restriction also turned to advantage in the same way, for Ireland began to work up her own woollen manufacture. She had now another product for export to the colonies. But in 1670 this trade was hampered by an English Act forbidding the export of the chiefly needed commodities from the colonies to Ireland unless by way of an English port. Direct trade was thus prohibited with the British possessions overseas, though the plantations could trade with each other. Irish citizenship, in short, was in a class apart, and did not confer the full rights of a British subject resident in any other part of the Empire.

Still, during the close of the seventeenth century Irish commercial enterprise showed remarkable elasticity and

resource, and throve in spite of disabilities: the restrictions hampered but did not kill Irish trade. The first deadly blow came in 1698 and 1699. Especially in the west of England, the woollen trade, England's staple industry, began to feel Irish competition. Wages in Ireland were lower, the standard of living much lower, and Irish manufacturers could undersell the English. William III. was obliged to declare that he would do his best to discourage Ireland's woollen trade; he added that he would encourage the linen industry, in which England was not much concerned: and in fulfilment of this promise the Irish Parliament itself imposed upon the export of woollen goods duties which were a heavy handicap. But next year the English Parliament prohibited absolutely the export of Irish woollens to any place but England, and put a prohibitive duty on their import there. Woollen stuffs manufactured in Ireland could only be sold for use in Ireland. The result was ruin—mainly of Irish Protestants. It was computed that forty-two thousand Protestant families were supported by this industry, twelve thousand of them in Dublin. The trade of Ireland itself did not suffice to maintain them, and it is said that over twenty thousand people were thrown on charity. Worse still, thousands emigrated, and Ireland lost not only industrial skill but the habit of industrial life. The discouragement affected all manufacturing development. There was no trade which Ireland could take up in which England might not be her competitor, and therefore none that could feel secure against destruction by law. Eighty years passed before Ireland regained free trade; and then she came too late into the race with competitors who had behind them three generations of traditional skill.

In fact, destruction was applied wherever England felt even a possible interest threatened. A considerable glass manufacture had grown up since the Revolution in Ireland. England, not content with decreeing that no glass except of English manufacture should be imported into Ireland, forbade all export of Irish glass. Generally speaking, only one Irish industry received a partial encouragement. William III. brought over Crommelin, a Huguenot refugee, from France to establish a linen manufacture, and he started at Lisburn, the place of his choice. Protestant artisans were fetched over from Flanders, and they found themselves among a Protestant population and took root. They settled also at

Waterford, where a French church existed for a century; and the Irish Parliament did its best to spread the industry over the kingdom. The British Parliament resisted this effort by imposing duties on Irish linens and by closing the colonial market against them. The Scotch and English linens were in many respects put at an advantage by law in the competition with the Irish; and generally, wherever Irish development in this trade could compete with the British, it was checked. But there was no measure that mounted to a prohibitive discouragement of linen manufacture.

The causes which have limited its survival to the north-east corner of Ireland are obscure, and possibly depend on climatic conditions, just as the cotton trade in England is limited to one part, where the atmosphere is specially moist. Crommelin's choice of Lisburn to begin his venture may have been dictated by knowledge of these conditions. It is certain, however, that Ulster had more opportunities than the rest of Ireland for the accumulation of capital. A Protestant could transmit his estate to one son; a Catholic's must be partitioned among all children. Again, the Ulster custom gave the tenant a right in his farm which was a sort of dual ownership; he could sell the goodwill of an inherited farm and put the capital into industry. Finally, the fact of the trade's survival was all-important for Ulster, since it preserved to that province the industrial habit. A population may be active and hard-working and yet not find it easy to acquire the punctual routine of manufacturing life, the endurance of a sedentary occupation, and, above all, the aptitude for handling machinery.

With this small exception in the Protestant-settled province, in the eighteenth century England had the power to decide, and did decide at the critical moment in modern development, that Ireland should not have the variety of resources which an industrial country possesses. England prevented Ireland from developing industries at the time when the commercial life of Europe was taking shape.

Here again the moral effect of such legislation needs to be realised. Criminal law normally represents the public opinion of the community: penalties are inflicted for what the general public regards as wrongdoing. This was not so in Ireland, as has been seen. Laws regulating commerce are normally imposed for the advantage of the community;

but the commercial code of the eighteenth century was planned to hinder Ireland's advantage. The restrictions as to wool were specially felt, for all agricultural Ireland was very largely interested in the price of wool, while a great part of the industrial population were wool-workers. England claimed a monopoly of Ireland's raw wool for her own manufactures. Such laws had for Ireland no moral sanction: an immense smuggling trade with the Continent grew up, in which Ireland exported wool and fetched back wine, sugar, and other commodities. In this way the disrespect of law, inevitable among the Catholics, was extended to Irish Protestants as well.

But further, England interfered ruinously with Ireland's sole great industry—that of the land. When the great confiscations took place under Cromwell, and again at the Restoration, proprietors came into possession of Irish land which had in many cases gone out of cultivation through prolonged war; and as a rule they had no skill in farming. Their easiest course was to stock the land with cattle. Tillage naturally decreased from this cause. The penal laws intensified this tendency, because they prohibited Catholic farmers from buying land or from taking it on a long lease, and this created such insecurity for the mass of the Irish agricultural population that tenants preferred to take land for a purpose suited to short tenure. Pasture needs little capital sunk in the land. This discouragement of tillage suited England, which had secured the monopoly of Irish wool. Further, England's desire to promote sheep-farming in Ireland and the interests of great Irish landowners combined to carry a most iniquitous measure, which tended further to replace men on the land by cattle and sheep. The Irish Parliament, representing the Protestant landlord interest, passed a resolution that land used for rearing dry stock should pay no tithes. This resolution, without the binding force of an Act, was acted on; and the Irish Parliament's last Act before ceasing to exist gave it the validity of law. This custom increased the spread of pasture farming at the expense of tillage, but also limited the burden of tithes to those who tilled the ground—mostly the very poor. Catholic farmers who acquired money could not purchase land; they could not invest money in a mortgage on land, nor borrow money on such a mortgage from other Catholics; what they could

do was to increase what we now should call their ranches. But such farming gives very little employment, and, though many Catholics acquired wealth by producing meat and wool and by the trade in provisions, the poor were reduced to great misery, being evicted from any land that would stay permanently in grass and driven to try to get a living off patches of bog and mountain.

England in the meantime was giving bounties to the English farmer on the export of corn, and prohibiting its import unless the price was abnormally high ; but the Irish Parliament did nothing for more than a generation to avert the decay of tillage. Ireland's main industry was food production, yet the country was swept again and again by famine because it produced mainly costly foods which the bulk of its people could never afford, and because the land was so used that the bulk of its people could find no employment.

In short, there was not much wealth in the country, and what there was was extraordinarily ill - distributed. Both property and power were almost exclusively in the hands of Protestants, numbering not one-fourth of the population. But it must be made plain that all the power and the vast bulk of the property were concentrated in one section of Protestants, the followers of the Established Church, who were probably not one in ten of the people.

From the time of the Restoration onward, Presbyterians and other Nonconformists were penalised. Under Charles II. many dissenting ministers in Ulster were imprisoned. Yet the severities exercised against them in Ireland were far less than in Scotland, and there was a great influx into Ulster at this time. Presbyterianism was, however, favoured by a small endowment known as the *Regium Donum* ; so that this form of religion enjoyed a certain recognition from the State. During the Williamite war persecution of the Irish dissenters ceased ; the effect was to consolidate all Protestants in the struggle. But when Protestant ascendency was firmly established by the Whig Revolution, dissenters were made to suffer. The Bill of the Irish Parliament in 1704 which enacted most of the provisions against Catholics was supplemented in the English Privy Council with a clause imposing the Sacramental Test on all holders of office, civil and military. All dissenters who refused to communicate according to the rites of the Established Church were ejected

from the magistracy and from municipal corporations, as well as from the public service. This restriction lasted till a free Irish Parliament removed it. The penal clauses were emphasised by refusal to recognise marriages celebrated by Presbyterian ministers. Schools were closed, and many hardships inflicted. These things upon the whole the Protestant dissenters bore patiently, because they were still in a better condition than the Catholics. But the effect of both law and administration was to make them into a separate and socially inferior class, occupying a middle position between the full-privileged Protestant and those of whom it was said by an Irish Lord Chancellor that "the law does not suppose any such person to exist as an Irish Roman Catholic."

Dissenters continued to increase in number during the times of trouble in Scotland that followed the Revolution; but towards the middle of the century a strong tide of emigration set towards America. The least afflicted of the two penalised peoples in Ireland was the first to carry hatred of England to the New World. Yet English policy could count with security for three-quarters of the eighteenth century that Presbyterians and Catholics would not combine.

CHAPTER XXXIII

BEGINNINGS OF THE MODERN IRISH NATION

Ireland in the eighteenth century was an undeveloped country, and the endeavours of its people to develop its resources were very largely checked by successive laws, from which fact lassitude and discouragement resulted. It was in the control of England, eagerly intent on developing very similar resources and determined that Ireland should not compete. One of the methods by which this was secured imposed directly and indirectly a disability on all Irishmen. It was maintained as a principle that all chief offices in Church and State should be reserved for Englishmen. The Catholic Irishman was excluded by law; the Irish-born Protestant could never hope to arrive at the top of his profession. No Irishman was Lord Chancellor till Fitzgibbon in the close of the century; none was Primate, and three successive Primates —King, Boulter, and Stone—were the real rulers of the country, the chief advisers of the English Viceroys and Chief Secretaries who came over in frequent succession. A natural result was to damage Irish schools and the Irish university; education in them was a handicap to preferment in the country which they served.

This preference for Englishmen in the highest administrative posts was not accidental: it was the result of a principle steadily inculcated, above all by Archbishops Boulter and Stone, that power in Ireland should be kept in English and out of Irish hands, even if they were Protestant. Power meant chiefly the control of preferment; the country was managed by jobbery. To a great extent this was also true of England; but the rich posts, frequently sinecures, by which Walpole rewarded those members of the small ruling class whose support he needed, were at least given to Englishmen resident in England. Posts in Ireland, paid out of Irish money,

were incessantly given to Englishmen who seldom or never came to the country, but discharged the duties, if there were any, by appointing deputies at a low pay. This was scandalously true of the bishoprics. Naturally, Irish residents grumbled, but could do no more than grumble. They had their parliament, but it was largely composed of representatives of tiny boroughs owned by some great nobleman. The parliament was not governed by the Septennial Act, and remained in existence as long as the king pleased. Those of George I. and George II. lasted all the reign. A majority of the members could be and gradually were purchased to support the Government. For two-thirds of the century Government carried this on by "undertakers"—a species of rich peers and commoners who "undertook," in return for a control of patronage, to provide parliamentary support. Later the Lord-Lieutenant and his Secretary directed the business themselves, and increased the expenditure on corruption.

It should be remembered that this parliament represented only Irish Churchmen. Dissenters could be neither electors nor elected. So small and so highly privileged a majority would never quarrel with the external power which maintained its privileges. Moreover, the Irish Parliament had not the usual weapon, control of the purse. In Ireland, expenditure was small, because Government did little or nothing to improve the country; and the hereditary revenue of the Crown was very large, because a quit-rent was charged on all lands granted under the confiscations, which now covered nearly all Ireland. The taxes were fewer and lower than in England; in the eighteenth century Ireland suffered much less from over-taxation than from under-expenditure: the country lay like a derelict estate, except for a few patches of private enterprise, constantly repressed by the commercial restrictions imposed in England's interest. The most useful public outlay was on education, and that to Catholics was useless unless they abjured their religion.

Ultimately, however, parliament secured a certain measure of control through finance. In the early part of the century the hereditary revenue, together with the yield from customs and excise, which had been voted in perpetuity, exceeded the expenditure, and there was a surplus. The king claimed this. The Irish Parliament claimed that it should revert to Ireland;

but, failing to make good their claim, they legislated so as to avoid a surplus by creating expenditure, and so a certain amount of useful public works were done. Later, Government itself increased the outlay by two main causes. It maintained in Ireland an army at Irish expense proportionately far greater than that of England. This establishment was kept up and increased, even after the Jacobite troubles of 1715 and 1745 had passed over without a ripple of disturbance in Ireland. The Crown wanted a larger standing army than England would tolerate, and they passed the burden on to Ireland. Over and above this, they used the separate establishment and civil list in Ireland as a means to provide pensions for persons rendering services with which Ireland had nothing to do : minor members of the royal family, the king's German relations, and even his German mistresses, members of the English Parliament whom it was desired to oblige, and stray Continental diplomats in disgrace. All these were charged on Ireland, till the pension list came to one-tenth of the entire expenditure. There were protests in the Irish Parliament, but parliamentary resistance could always be disposed of, either by employment of the bought majority, or if, as sometimes happened, public feeling among the Irish gentry—who alone mattered—ran too high, Parliament was allowed to pass its Bill, which was then defeated by the English Privy Council. The procedure under Poynings' Act had been changed since its introduction. Instead of obtaining preliminary consent from England to the heads of a measure, a Bill was now introduced in the Irish Parliament, discussed in detail, and then submitted to the Lord-Lieutenant and Irish Privy Council as " Heads of a Bill." The Council could either suppress the Bill or alter it. If approved by the Irish Privy Council, it was forwarded to England, and the English Privy Council had the right also to reject or alter it. If it were altered, it was sent back to the Irish Parliament, which then might pass it as an Act, but only on condition of accepting it in the form in which it was sent back. Often, in view of the alterations, Parliament declined to go on with the Bill. The Privy Council was, in short, a third or upper chamber to the Irish Parliament, having the power of rejection and of alteration.

There were again protests, from within Parliament and without it, against this complete subordination of Ireland to

England, and against England's cynical use of the advantage. In 1698 Samuel Molyneux, member for Dublin University, a decorous scientific man, published his *Case of Ireland*, which maintained by historical arguments that the Irish Parliament had by right the same powers in Ireland as the English Parliament in England, and had been unconstitutionally deprived of them. The English Parliament ordered his book to be burnt by the common hangman and suppressed. Yet the writings of Molyneux made a beginning of public opinion in Ireland looking to constitutional means of redress. Twenty years later, Swift, who had proved himself the greatest of all pamphleteers in England, took up the cause of Ireland from his Deanery of St Patrick's, and for the first time made a public agitation successful without force of arms. The occasion was peculiar and trivial. Ireland needed more copper coinage, and Ireland was not allowed to have a mint: the profits upon coinage were reserved to England. The Duchess of Kendal, George II.'s German mistress, had already a pension of £3000 on the Irish establishment. She now demanded of the king the patent for supplying the needed coin, and even got a patent for supplying much more than was needed, so that the profit might be greater; and she then sublet the contract for ten thousand pounds to an ironmonger named Wood. The Irish Parliament petitioned against this transaction, but in vain. Swift had already written in 1720 a pamphlet to propose what we should call a boycott of English goods and an exclusive use of Irish manufactures. "Burn everything that comes from England except the coals," he said. The printer of this anonymous pamphlet was prosecuted, but the prosecution failed: public opinion supported the writer, whom everyone knew. In 1724 Swift again wrote, this time under the style of a petty Dublin tradesman, and signed the series of letters in which he attacked Wood's patent "M. B. Drapier." There is no question that he exaggerated preposterously the consequences which would follow to Irish trade if this coinage were introduced. In popular agitations a trivial question often becomes a flag or symbol, and imagination is used and stimulated for an ulterior reason. The essence of this matter was not that England burdened Ireland with the cost of a job for the benefit of a German mistress and a British ironmonger; it was that the English Parliament overruled the Irish, and wholly dis-

regarded Irish opinion in a matter purely affecting Ireland. Swift won. The coinage was withdrawn. It was true that Wood was given, at the cost of Ireland, £24,000 to compensate him for his loss of profit. But public opinion had forced the Government to regard it; the prosecution of the printer failed; £300 was offered for a disclosure of the author, and Swift walked secure. Moreover, in the midst of all his fantastic argument to prove that the halfpence would displace all other coinage, and that a country gentleman would need a train of wagons to bring his rents to town, Swift inserted passages which went to the heart of reality concerning the relations of Ireland to England.

"All government without the consent of the governed is the very definition of slavery," he wrote; "but in fact eleven men well armed will certainly subdue a single man in his shirt. . . ."

He preached, therefore, no active resistance, but simply a united refusal to accept the coin, animated by a sense of national right. "The remedy is wholly in your own hands, and therefore I have digressed a little in order to refresh and continue that spirit so seasonably raised among you, and to let you see that by the laws of God, of nature, of nations, and of your country you are and ought to be as free a people as your brethren in England."

This one small and materially worthless success was Swift's sole concrete result. But Ireland worshipped him, because he had set up a standard of resistance. If no more came of it for half a century, the reason is to be found in a want of logic which undermined Swift's whole position. It would never have entered Swift's mind that the consent of Catholics should be sought, as well as that of Protestants; and he was fiercely opposed to the extension of equality to dissenters. National union was not possible on any basis which he would accept.

Yet the principles which Swift laid down carried in themselves power to destroy the narrow construction which he put upon them; and he began action where action was possible. He had a happy instinct for an issue on which all residents in Ireland could combine; he showed the result of combination; and he preached liberty with a power which transcended his own interpretation of liberty. The nation as he conceived it was an impossible thing, in which a majority of the

inhabitants, and those the original denizens, were to be helots. But at least he had a clear conception of Ireland as an associated nation with equal rights to guard, and not a dependency to be exploited at will. Above all, he became a leader in a leaderless people.

It has been frequently argued that Catholic Ireland was completely loyal to England during the eighteenth century, and it is true that in the latter half of the period Catholic noblemen, professing to speak for their religion, made strong protestations of loyalty. But the phrase is false. Ireland was submissive merely through weakness. No people in the world would have submitted to such laws had resistance been possible. But the struggle between England and Ireland, which was pushed almost to extirpation of the Irish under Elizabeth, and was carried once more to the same point under Cromwell, was renewed again under William ; and the third defeat left Ireland absolutely exhausted. After Cromwell's war, the Irish left Ireland in tens of thousands, but at the Restoration many at least of the leaders came back. From the road on which Sarsfield led his eleven thousand there was no return, and the numbers who followed his track are almost incredible. From researches made in the records of the French War Office, the Irishmen who died in the French service between 1691, when Sarsfield left the country, and 1745, the date of the Battle of Fontenoy, have been reckoned at nearly half a million—an average of almost ten thousand a year. Lecky disbelieves the figure, though he admits that an independent investigator had been inclined to accept it. One must remember, too, that though France got most of the men, in Spain and in Austria there was a regular traditional connection with Ireland and a welcome open to the expatriated—above all, in the armies.

At all events, whether we regard the estimate of numbers as exaggerated or not, one fact stands out : for a hundred years Catholic Ireland gave up the struggle ; and when the struggle was renewed, Protestant not Catholic Irishmen were the prime movers. It would be difficult to name a single Irish Catholic who achieved distinction in Ireland during the eighteenth century before 1798, with the exception of those peasant poets to whom a belated fame is now accorded. The list of famous men whom Ireland produced from the dominant religion is long indeed : Swift and Congreve were at school

together at Kilkenny ; Berkeley was taught there a little later ; Burke and Goldsmith have their statues outside Trinity College ; Grattan faces them ; and these are only a few. The Irish Catholics, their contemporaries, who grew illustrious had to win fame on the Continent ; and the alien in foreign service seldom is allowed to rise high. Yet even so, Wall, a Waterford man, became Chief Minister of Spain for some six years ; a little earlier, Macnamara was commanding the French fleet that threatened England's coast. Lally Tollendal came near to win control of India for the French ; and, as everyone knows, the Battle of Fontenoy was decided by the Irish Brigade under Lord Clare, the second of that name in whom the command was vested by tradition. It is true to say, as Lecky does, that the history of Catholic Ireland in this century must be followed on the Continent, not in Ireland. All its achievements were there.

This appalling drain upon the Gaelic nation must be understood. It carried away all the men to whom, in a nation not yet wholly emerged from the clan organisation, the tradition of leadership belonged. They went, some of them no doubt, with the hope of taking part in some enterprise which would restore their people to its rights in its own land. But they went, all of them, because conditions in their country were made intolerable for men of the aristocratic temper. Nothing was open to them in the country except farming, on conditions which made them extremely dependent on a Protestant landlord, or the career of a middleman who took large tracts of land on short lease and sublet this to others ; it was an occupation in which many Catholics earned money and an ill name. In towns, the professions were closed ; there remained only trade or manufacture. Even here, just as the Catholic was handicapped by laws prohibiting him from taking a long lease, so in manufacture he had to face heavy imposts called quarterage, over and above the commercial restrictions which depressed all Irish manufacturing industry. The result was a great direction of Catholic energy into distributing trade rather than into manufacture, and the tendency remains.

But over and above this discouragement, the views of that age regarded either trade or manufacture as an impossible career for the man of gentle birth. The Catholic gentry were driven out of Ireland very largely by the pressure of a code which denied them at home the position of gentlemen. Irish

rank was recognised all over Europe, and titles which an Englishman would have regarded as ridiculous were held in honour at the Austrian Court, where punctilio on such matters was most extreme. Horace Walpole tells of an Irish Catholic who changed his religion in order to fight a duel, no Catholic in Ireland being permitted to wear a sword ; and the trait is typical of that age. Those who left Ireland were the men who would naturally have headed revolt against humiliating oppression ; and they left to avoid humiliation. Leadership passed to others ; resistance took new forms.

One result of breaking up the traditional Irish organisation in chieftaincies was to destroy the old literary tradition by which scholarship and learning passed from father to son, and regular schools were maintained. This hereditary caste of bards and historians had made literature somewhat pedantic ; they prided themselves on preserving a vocabulary much of which was as obsolete as the language of Chaucer to a modern Englishman ; and they imposed rigid and difficult systems of verse. With their disappearance a popular poetry sprang up, using a more melodious form of rhyme, and constructing its lines by accent rather than measure of syllables. This poetry spread amazingly, and its chief poets were among the hedge schoolmasters, sprung from the people ; and its central inspiration was new in Irish literature. It dealt very largely with the Jacobite motive of the exiled prince who should return to his people ; but far more than this, it dealt with the idea of Ireland, sometimes praised simply as an ideal country, more often personified as a beautiful and suffering woman. The older poets had sung of this or that leader, had been concerned with the glories of this or that tribal kingdom. To this new school Ireland was one, embodied in a dream. The " Aisling " or vision in which the poet describes his vision of Ireland was a theme repeated by every poet ; and it was always a vision of beauty oppressed and enslaved. That, and not the utterances of the loyal Catholic noblemen, expressed the true feeling of Ireland ; and modern Irish nationalism, in so far as it is an expression of sentiment, dates from these bards.

Swift may stand perhaps for the first effective leader in the long train of constitutional agitators who sought to rouse and unite the Irish people against laws which pressed heavy on them, and who for this often used, as did Swift in the

Drapier Letters, language of hyperbolical exaggeration concerning some detail of administration. But the essence of Swift's work was that he taught the people to combine against the law, as it were within the law; to use all powers which the law gave, especially the institution of juries, to defeat the purpose of those who administered the law. This lesson of combination, however, was capable of a much fiercer application, and it received it.

In its essence the English conquest of Ireland from Elizabeth to William was a conquest directed to spoiling the Irish people of their lands. Its effect was to leave the Irish people still mainly dependent on the land for their living, but now in a servile dependency upon other men who usurped the main profits of labour and produce of the soil. For that reason the history of Ireland since the eighteenth century has been largely a history of agrarian agitation; successive attempts to undo a very terrible injustice.

These movements have always been necessarily a combination of the people against the law which had created and maintained the injustice. In all of them the combination has been maintained by general sympathy; but any individual who has tried to break away from the combination has come under the sentence issued by a conspiracy, which had a moral character, in that it represented the feeling of the population. The first of these combinations which became notable was that of the Whiteboys, early in the reign of George III.

It must be remembered that the land then suffered from two burdens: rent and tithes. Of these the tithe was naturally the more resented, because it was levied on Catholics for the support of a religion hostile to them; and it was even levied when that religion discharged no duty. Sir Lucius O'Brien, member for Clare, said in 1763 that out of seventy-six parishes in Clare, sixty-two had no Protestant church, and most rectors were non-resident, without a curate to supply their places. Yet tithe was levied. It was levied by men who made a profession of collecting it for a fixed payment; and these were often Catholics; their methods were always oppressive and often illegal. The Whiteboy agitation, which began in Munster, was chiefly directed against tithes. They issued their edict as to what should be paid, and large bodies of disguised men wearing shirts over their clothes assembled

to enforce penalties for violation of their edicts. But they did not limit their agitation, as the grievance was not limited. Commercial restrictions and penal laws had combined to force Ireland out of tillage into pasture; and there was always a tendency for one man to bid against the occupier of land and offer a higher rent, which the landlords, who as a rule showed little consideration for their tenants, were generally willing to take. In most cases, too, the landlord had sublet his estates to middlemen, who lived on their intervening profit, and therefore arranged this bidding of neighbour against neighbour. The Whiteboys punished those who in this way interfered with another's living; they seldom killed men, but the practice of inflicting injury by killing or maiming cattle was very frequent; and men were punished also by personal injuries and indignities. It was a form of lynch law in which the whole countryside conspired, actively or passively. Repeated Coercion Acts were passed, and many violent punishments inflicted on persons convicted or suspected; but Whiteboyism continued.

In the north it had its counterpart among the Ulster Protestants. The Oakboys, formed in 1763, were a society of Protestants whose grievance was firstly the system by which the Grand Juries imposed on a countryside the task of making roads; labour was requisitioned to make roads, very often for the profit of some members of the jury. But they, too, resented the unjust impost. These men, like the Catholics, had the grievance of paying for an alien church; they were Presbyterians and other dissenters, of whom vast numbers had immigrated into Ulster during the reigns of William and Anne. Later, the effect of commercial restrictions had set up a counter-stream of emigration; those newcomers readily abandoned a country where they had not long taken root, and in which the chances for prosperity seemed severely limited. Yet great numbers remained, and these were largely Scots of the poorer class, actual tillers of the land, not speculators; and in their competition for lands to farm they found themselves overbid by Catholics who were content with any hope of a bare sustenance. In 1771 the Marquis of Donegal, representative of the Chichester family, was a great absentee proprietor, and on the falling in of many leases he proposed to raise £100,000 by exacting fines for renewal. Two or three rich men secured the land for pasture,

and the little tillage farmers were driven out in thousands; the same was happening elsewhere, and the Steelboys were formed. They, like the Whiteboys, destroyed and maimed cattle, attacked houses, and formed large mobs to intimidate and riot; a special Coercion Act was passed against them. It was followed by the emigration of thousands of dispossessed and angry Protestants to America, who arrived in the New World when it was about to break away from the old. They formed a great part of the American armies, and Protestant Ireland contributed more than Catholic Ireland to this defeat of England.

In Ireland itself the War of Independence had a momentous effect, which must be traced in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XXXIV

FREE TRADE AND THE INDEPENDENCE OF PARLIAMENT

The political struggle in Ireland, which occupied the first twenty-five years of George III.'s reign, was a struggle of colonists against the mother country. Native Ireland was then neglected and negligible. Irish Catholics were not even permitted to be food for powder, except under conditions that denied their citizenship. During the great wars carried on by the elder Pitt, Catholic Ireland, through Catholic noblemen, pleaded to be allowed to serve in the army; and already by connivance thousands of Catholics were in British regiments. But to admit of Catholic officers in command of their fellow-countrymen seemed so dangerous that in 1762 the proposal was met by a counter-proposal from England to enrol seven Catholic Irish regiments for the service of Portugal, England's ally. Yet even this modest plan for recognition was defeated by opposition from the Irish Protestant gentry.

None the less the opposition in parliament in these years began to use a new name, and styled itself the National party. Its main objects were to secure for the nation—which to them meant the Protestants—some main guarantees of liberty which England possessed and which were denied to Ireland. They sought to increase the control of parliament over finance, to limit the duration of parliament, to make the Habeas Corpus Act applicable to Ireland, and to give judges the same tenure as in England. In 1768 a first point was gained when the Octennial Act, limiting parliament to eight years, was passed. The fact that public agitation had been able to effect something stimulated the growth of a genuine and able opposition. Two men, Henry Flood and Henry Grattan, now began to come into prominence. Flood after some time took a place under Government, and his activity and influence were lessened by this fact.

But more important than the action of anyone in Ireland was the repercussion of the struggle which had already begun in America. All the sympathies of Ireland were with the colonists in their resistance to taxation from Westminster and to interference with their local autonomy. Yet when the American resistance ended in rebellion, Ireland's parliament acted like that of England, and supported the war. The Catholics through their leading men again offered their services; but again it should be remembered that the mass of Catholic Ireland had no political education, no organisation except that of the Whiteboy league, and scarcely any political consciousness. Ireland's support was that of the Irish Ascendency. Moreover, however freely the Irish Parliament taxed Ireland for an Imperial purpose, the English Government continued to load Ireland with charges for pensions and sinecures. This created fierce resentment, to which Grattan gave a voice, and the charges for royalty's expenses fed the natural tendency to Republicanism among Presbyterians. Meanwhile the war into which France entered in 1777, and Spain a year later, was closing Ireland's few markets, and the commercial restrictions remained in full force, barring Irish goods from all markets that England could control. While war taxation was exhausting the country, Ireland received little or none of the temporary stimulus that springs from war expenditure. Over £600,000 a year raised in Ireland was spent in England. In 1778 the English Parliament found itself forced to consider the matter, and certain concessions were proposed. Instantly it became clear that the commercial policy of England was dictated by the English people. Furious resolutions from all the leading towns forced Government to withdraw the main substance of its measure and limit itself to certain petty amendments. This defined the issue. In the fundamental matter of prosperity, the right to live and thrive, Ireland's real opponent was not the English Government, but the English commercial interest; and all Ireland, Protestant and Catholic, Episcopalian and Dissenter alike, was relegated by it to the same position of servile inferiority.

All this helped to unite Ireland, and to forward Grattan's characteristic view that "the Irish Protestant could never be free till the Irish Catholic had ceased to be a slave." This was a new doctrine. Lucas, who had succeeded to some of Swift's popularity as a champion of Irish freedom, had no

more willingness than Swift to extend that freedom to Catholics. Flood, Grattan's great ally and rival, had on this matter none of Grattan's liberal statesmanship. Yet Grattan prevailed, and before the first great concession was won for Ireland as a whole, the Irish Parliament had amended out of existence one of the most oppressive penal laws. Catholics were enabled to buy or inherit land freely, and to invest money in mortgages.

Meanwhile England, unsuccessfully at war with America, France, and Spain, found its fleet engaged all over the world, and was obliged also to withdraw from Ireland every available man; and the country was so drained of money that Government could not carry out a scheme for raising a militia. A descent on the Irish coast about Belfast was threatened. In 1760 Thurot with a tiny expedition had proved how easily the thing could be done, and had left memories which revived sharply in 1778 when the famous privateer Paul Jones captured a ship within sight of Belfast. The mayor of Belfast asked for troops, and was answered that only two half-companies could be spared. Instantly volunteer companies were formed. The movement spread like wildfire over all Ireland, and everywhere the nobles and gentry were at its head. Arms were procured by private subscription; the Catholics, not permitted to enrol themselves, contributed freely. When the parliament met in 1779 the Volunteers numbered over forty thousand men. The Irish Government heartily disliked their existence, but recognised that they were indispensable. It recognised also that Ireland was unanimous in their support. Protestant, Presbyterian, and Catholic, Ulstermen and Southerners, were all in the movement. When parliament opened, two lines of Volunteers commanded by the head of the house of Kildare, now the Duke of Leinster, lined the streets for the Speaker's passage; the parliament replied by a vote of thanks to the Volunteers for their spirited services. It was in the atmosphere thus created that Grattan moved that free trade was necessary to save the country from ruin. No man ventured to divide against his resolution.

When Government showed no sign of acting on this resolution, agitation grew menacing. The Dublin Volunteers paraded with cannon, hung with the label, "Free Trade or this." The occasion, it should be noted, was the birthday of King William and the meeting-place his statue in College Green; he was then regarded as guardian of the liberties

of those who considered themselves the Irish people. When parliament supported this cry by a refusal to grant new taxes, Lord North, then Prime Minister, gave way. Broadly speaking, all the commercial restrictions that had been imposed on Irish trade were swept out of existence. Ireland had won.

It was an immense victory, achieved by a solidly united Ireland; but it was only partial. England had allowed Irish ideas to prevail at one point, which affected the material interest of all Ireland. Moreover, Presbyterian and Protestant were acting together in the Volunteers; recognition of this could not be withheld, and the Irish Parliament carried a measure for putting Dissenters on an equality with Churchmen. The English Privy Council did not venture to object, and Dissenters in Ireland were thus—at least in theory—fully enfranchised nearly fifty years sooner than those in England. But when the Irish Parliament sought to enact that judges should have a secure tenure, as in England, and not be liable to dismissal if they offended the Administration, the English Privy Council refused their consent, and they did the same by a proposal to extend the Habeas Corpus Act to Ireland.

The Irish administration recognised more clearly than anyone in England that Ireland was dangerous. Already in England statesmen began to talk of a Union. England had now been forced to give up the advantage of treating Ireland as a dependency in the matter of trade, which had compensated largely for the inconvenience of having a separate parliament. Having lost the advantage, they were disposed to abolish the inconvenience. But Rockingham, the Viceroy, implored them not to whisper the word Union nor let it drop from the pen; Ireland was already too well inclined to make common cause with America in the fight for independence. The Volunteers not merely remained in being, but redoubled their numbers and perfected their equipment; and the demand which in April 1780 Grattan put forward by resolution in the Irish House was for concessions which had already been offered, too late, to the revolted colonists in America. England had conceded to the Americans full power of internal legislation and renounced all claim to taxation. In the war, Ireland had stood by England; its citizens had taken on themselves the task and cost of defence. Were they to be refused what was offered to rebels?

Once again Government refused to act on a vote of the Irish House; and steps were taken to compel them. All discipline in the army is governed by the Mutiny Act, which parliament passes annually for one year. Soldiers in Ireland were held to be governed by the English Mutiny Act. Magistrates and juries now decided that they would not enforce penalties for desertion, under an Act of Parliament that was not Irish; and the Irish Parliament proceeded to pass a Mutiny Bill of its own. Government ingeniously took out the clause which limited the operation of the Act to a year, and by their bought majority passed it in this form. The effect was that henceforth neither the English nor the Irish Parliament had any control over the army in Ireland.

This shocked public opinion; and the number of new peerages, promotions, and pensions told how the Bill had been carried. In the discredit of parliament the Volunteers became now, more than ever, the admitted representatives of Ireland. Protestants and settlers were now the champions of the nation.

Dissatisfaction with the Government, and with the parliament which supported the Government, became general, and on 28th December 1781 there was a meeting at Armagh of the officers and delegates from the First Ulster Regiment, whose colonel was Lord Charlemont, a nobleman of high character for independence. This meeting decided to call a Convention from all the Volunteers of Ulster to assemble at Dungannon. The Convention, which met in the church at Dungannon on 15th February 1782, held the elected representatives of some 25,000 civilians, trained to arms and organised in units. Having registered their conviction that a civilian by learning the use of arms does not abandon any of his civil rights, they proceeded to resolve that none but the king, lords and commons of Ireland had legally or constitutionally power to bind Ireland; that the independence of judges should be secured, as in England; and that a Mutiny Bill not limited from session to session was unconstitutional as abolishing parliament's control of the army. Finally, in two resolutions framed by Grattan, they declared for the free right of private judgment in matters of religion and approved the relaxation of penal laws against Roman Catholics. These expressions, coming from the representatives of the most Protestant part of Ireland, showed a strong and clear movement to real national unity.

From the Convention Grattan went to parliament and moved an address declaring for the independence of the Irish Legislature. He could point to the loyalty of Ireland and her proved determination to support the British Army. In the year just ended, when a descent of French and Spanish ships on southern Ireland had been threatened, the Ulster Volunteers under Charlemont, and the Dublin Volunteers under the Duke of Leinster, offered to march in great force to Munster; while the Catholic merchants of Cork proposed to furnish £12,000 towards a defence fund. Once more the argument from America was driven home: could England refuse to her loyal supporters what she offered to her rebels? No answer was attempted in debate. Carlisle, the Lord-Lieutenant, wrote to London, urging surrender on the ground that no power existed which could force united Ireland to recognise British laws. He admitted that in what Ireland demanded there was no evidence of hostility to the Brtish interest, and every proof of desire for continued and cordial union. It is clear that whatever government held power in England, the concession must have been made; the loss of America was too fresh for its lessons to be forgotten. But North's government fell, and in April Rockingham and Fox, who had long supported Ireland's claim, came into office. On 16th April the Irish Parliament assembled, and Grattan, only lately risen from a sick-bed, once more moved his resolution, and the address to the king which he proposed was carried unanimously. In May, Fox announced at Westminster his government's decision to grant fully and unconditionally all that Ireland had demanded.

A revolution had been effected, yet there was very little apparent change in the constitution. England had succeeded for more than a century in maintaining the form of free institutions in Ireland while abolishing their reality. What was done now was, first, to repeal the Act of George I. which declared that the English Parliament had the power to bind Ireland, and to undertake that Acts of the Irish Parliament should not be interfered with in the Privy Council. Grattan was content with the course that had been taken, and at first Ireland agreed. But Flood took a different view, and he appealed to the Volunteers, who by a majority supported him in demanding that the English Parliament should expressly renounce the right which it had surrendered by implication.

Fox's ministry decided to set apprehensions at rest, and passed an Act of Renunciation declaring that Ireland's right to be bound only by laws of its own parliament, and to have all its law cases decided in the Irish Courts without further appeal, was "established and ascertained for ever, and shall at no time hereafter be questioned or questionable." No stronger words of guarantee could be found, and Flood's policy claimed a triumph over that of Grattan. Yet when the facts came to be examined, it will be seen that the way to ensure what had been gained was pointed out by Grattan and rejected by Flood. Flood sought to buttress up the freedom of parliament by pledges from England; Grattan to strengthen it by widening its support in the Irish nation.

Both men saw the weakness of what had been won. Grattan perceived, and Flood refused to see, that its real weakness lay in its lack of representative character. Two hundred and twelve seats out of 300 were private property, and could be bought and sold. Seventeen boroughs had no resident electors, 16 had one only, and 90 had an average of 13 each. Yet the more fatal and essential weakness was that the parliament claimed to represent a nation, and three-fourths of that nation were debarred by reason of their religion from voting. Grattan supported and Flood opposed the emancipation of Catholic Ireland. When so vast an inequality was maintained by law, it was hopeless to attempt the redress of petty injustices in representation.

In the last resort, security for the independence which had been gained lay in strengthening the parliament, and not in acquiring promises that its independence would be respected. Most of the men who gained independence saw it lost, because they themselves refused to maintain the unity to which they owed it.

Yet just as one outside cause, the American Rebellion, naturally united Ireland in a common demand, so in a few years after Ireland's success a still greater phenomenon in world politics no less inevitably divided Ireland.

CHAPTER XXXV

GRATTAN'S PARLIAMENT

THE most significant fact about "Grattan's Parliament" is that Grattan never held office in it. This indicates at once that it was wholly unlike any parliament which exists or has existed anywhere else in the British Empire. It was in reality a pioneer experiment to do successfully what had been unsuccessfully attempted in America—namely, to establish local freedom for a possession within the Empire. In 1782–83 England had just lost one self-governing English-speaking country by seeking to limit unduly the freedom accorded to it. Fox was anxious to avoid making the same mistake in regard to Ireland. England at large consented to the concessions which were made, partly from this reason, partly because Ireland's demand came when England was, in a military sense, very weak.

The demand was that England should renounce all right for the English Parliament to bind Ireland by its Acts. The only link between the kingdoms was to be the Crown. The two parliaments were to be co-ordinate, of equal and separate authority. Every parliament which now exists in the Empire outside of England is in theory subordinate : it is the creation of the Imperial Parliament, which in theory retains a power to override its legislation, and in practice controls its foreign affairs. But the Irish Parliament was called into being, like that of England, by a direct Act of the Crown : the English Parliament had no voice in its beginning. This was the historic basis of a claim that Ireland's parliament should make its own treaties, and that when war was declared in England, the Irish Parliament must endorse that declaration by its separate Act. Thus, in theory, the Irish Parliament had power and position superior to that of any oversea Dominion, at all events before 1914. In practice its in-

dependence was less than that of any self-governing colony. England maintained in practice that though the legislatures should be separate, the executive should be united. Ireland had no Prime Minister ; it had no voice in choosing or dismissing its ministry. The Lord-Lieutenant was actually and actively the head of the Irish administration : he was part of an English ministry which might last or fall, irrespective of Irish opinion. Ireland could no more dismiss him than control the choice of him.

Further, and this is immensely important, the unwritten usage of the constitution decided in England that if a policy were rejected, the persons who advocated that policy should cease to control power ; that if a policy were adopted, those put in charge of it should be those who were advocates of its adoption. This is evidently good sense, since a sound policy may be ruined by incapable administration of it, and still more surely by administrators who desire that it should fail. The policy of working Ireland through a completely free parliament within the Empire was thrown into the hands of men who, from the first, distrusted and disliked it. For this Grattan must be held largely responsible.

He was offered office in 1782, and refused to take it. Everywhere in the world a politician who accepts any salaried post risks the accusation of self-seeking, and the tradition of corruption in Ireland had been made so universal that this risk was almost certain. Flood had lost much authority by taking office, though he afterwards relinquished a lucrative post ; Grattan, by his continuous denunciation, had provided his enemies with many weapons against him if he did what he had blamed Flood for doing. Yet there are risks which a man has to face, and Grattan by his refusal dishonoured his own creation. His reputation for personal disinterestedness stood so high that, if he refused office, the inference was plain that a scrupulous man could not accept post in the ministry of Ireland's parliament.

His action impressed the public and parliament so greatly that they voted him such a reward as is offered to a victorious general—fifty thousand pounds. Virtually, they endowed him to be a politician out of office, and naturally enough a man of Grattan's temper felt himself bound to remain permanently outside the administration. He might have served Ireland better by going into the administration and forcing through

those measures which were necessary to make Ireland's freedom a permanent reality ; by fighting for them against the personages in administration who sought to undo his work, and, if necessary, by resigning, to renew the struggle in opposition. What he did was to leave office to the office-seekers, and to those who had a policy entirely opposed to his, and were determined to hold on to every ounce of power which might forward their view and thwart Grattan's.

Chief of these men was Fitzgibbon, son of a Catholic who had relinquished his religion in order to become a lawyer. The son was possessed by a furious determination to maintain the privileges of that communion to which his father had profitably transferred the family allegiance. He had been allied with Grattan in the demand for freedom, and Grattan, refusing office himself, had concurred in the appointment of Fitzgibbon to be Attorney-General. It is possible that Fitzgibbon was sincere, since the freedom was demanded only for a Protestant nation ; yet in 1793 he denounced the " fatal infatuation of 1782," when Irish patriots began to put forward claims of legislative independence. That, however, was when Grattan's policy made a great step towards full development.

There were in truth two completely different conceptions of what Ireland's parliament should be. It was in the beginning a parliament of the Pale, repudiating all connection with the Irish nation. This parliament later deliberately divested itself of its supremacy by passing Poynings' law. When, in 1641, there was an assembly which represented the old Irish and the Catholic English, it renewed the claim to complete independence, and under James II. a legitimate parliament enacted this. But the parliament which had been in existence since the Revolution was definitely a parliament of the Pale ; no one in Ireland could have hand, act, or part in it except those who professed the king's religion. It was from a parliament of the colonists that the claim for freedom came, and to them England conceded it. Grattan, however, saw very clearly that the parliament for which so much was claimed could not stand unless it had the nation behind it. What, again, was the nation ? To many of Grattan's allies, above all to Flood and to Charlemont, reform was essential to make it truly the representative Protestant parliament of a Protestant nation. Reform would undoubtedly have brought in many of the Dissenters, who comprised a prosperous

middle class, and whose disqualifications had been removed in 1780. But Grattan took the larger view ; parliament must be representative of the Irish nation as a whole. By taking this view he divided the forces of those who desired reform and who possessed political power. On this matter English statesmen were, on the whole, liberal ; but they were uninformed as to Irish opinion. Grattan in office might have weighed powerfully in the counsels of Pitt ; by abstaining, he left all the confidential communications of each succeeding Lord-Lieutenant and Chief Secretary in the hands of the clique whom Fitzgibbon represented.

There was, however, an alternative course. Dublin's parliament was not amenable to reasoning or eloquence ; more than two hundred of the House of Commons were returned by about one hundred persons, and the possessors of such a power have never relinquished it voluntarily. The English cabinet might have been induced by Grattan's influence in office to force acceptance of the reform demanded by Irish public opinion through an unwilling chamber. If Grattan did not choose to take office, the English cabinet might have yielded to the same argument which had prevailed in 1782, and to which men turned again in 1783 and after. A free parliament had been won by the political action of Ireland's native army ; the Volunteers desired to continue their pressure to make that parliament representative. But Grattan, who refused office, rejected the alternative method. Almost pedantically a constitutionalist, he held it inadmissible that a body of armed men should even seem to dictate parliament's action. His view was that, since the war with Spain and France was now over, the Volunteers should disband. Charlemont held that they should remain in being, but abstain from politics : Flood, that they should continue to be the complete and effective expression of the nation for all purposes—but of the Protestant nation only.

Thus these three leading figures of the Patriot party became estranged from one another. Flood and Grattan quarrelled so violently that a challenge passed, though the duel was prevented. A new Volunteer Convention was held in Dublin while parliament was sitting in November 1783, Charlemont unwillingly taking the chair. It passed the heads of a Reform Bill, and Flood in his Volunteer uniform went down to lay the proposal before the House of Commons.

There was no mention in the Bill of franchise for Catholics, but the issue had been much debated and was supported by leading personages among the Volunteers, notably a most singular prelate, the Earl of Bristol, Bishop of Derry, who in this matter claimed with justice to speak for the Ulster Presbyterians. The line of opposition taken was that a menace of force should be resisted ; and Grattan, though he supported the Bill on its merits, voted for a resolution to maintain the rights of the House against all encroachments. The Convention then dissolved, and the Volunteer organisation, though it continued to exist, lost its solidarity and altered in character. It passed very much away from the control of the gentry who had originally led it, and fell decidedly more into the hands of the Dissenters, among whom the example of America had already begun to spread republican principles.

Grattan must be blamed from his own standpoint. He knew that the Volunteer force, as it existed in 1783, desired, as he did, to maintain a close and loyal connection between the two kingdoms. He ought to have foreseen that by repudiating their assistance to move parliament, he made it certain that forces would come into being which would seek reforms in a spirit hostile to the English connection.

The opposition to reform was very powerful. Parliament was, as has been seen, in the hands of a small number of persons who regarded power and emoluments of power as their patrimony ; they naturally resisted all attempts to deprive them. The British Government, having granted freedom to Ireland, desired to lessen or nullify that grant by retaining control of the Irish Parliament, and this was most easily done by retaining power in the hands of a few who could be dealt with ; the cost of the process, except so far as the rewards were in titles, fell upon the Irish taxpayer. Finally, there were men like Fitzgibbon who saw that if reform were admitted it would be impossible to keep the Catholics from attaining their share of power, and who believed that with the Catholics in power the whole land settlement would be reversed, the heirs of confiscation dispossessed, and the Catholic Church re-established.

Reform was accordingly resisted, and the influence of England remained virtually as strong in the free parliament as before 1782, by the exercise of means which made public life more corrupt than ever. One thing stood, however :

freedom of trade was secure, and great advance in prosperity accrued under wise direction from a parliament which contained many able men. The most serviceable of these on the economic side was John Foster.

Parliament was confronted with an appeal from all manner of manufacturers who complained that free trade was of no use to them, because the well-established English firms could afford to drive out Irish rivals by underselling them even at a loss. They clamoured for protective duties. Against this was the fear that England might retaliate by putting duties on Irish linen, which was now the country's best export. Foster opposed himself resolutely to all increased protection of manufacturers, but applied himself to strengthen and establish Ireland's central industry of agriculture. His object was to encourage tillage, and he persuaded parliament to put a prohibitive duty on the import of corn so long as Irish corn could be had at the reasonable price of 30s. a barrel; and, further, to stimulate production, he gave a bounty on the export of Irish corn, so long as corn in Ireland was not fetching over 27s. a barrel. The result was a great breaking up of pasture lands, with increase of employment in labour on the land, milling, and other industries; a general rise in wages followed, which after 1793 was quickened by war conditions. The country could buy more, and the home market improved enormously. Stimulus was given also by way of bounties to new industries, or industries which had been killed by the commercial restrictions; glass-making developed, and cotton-spinning and weaving grew into a powerful rival to the linen trade. In short, Ireland prospered. The national debt was small; the public credit rose until the Irish Treasury could borrow as cheaply as the English.

There was, moreover, a marked access of life and interest in the capital. The increased importance of parliament and greater frequency of its sittings brought many of the nobles and gentry to Dublin, and fine mansions were building. On both sides of the Liffey, streets which have now become either Government offices or slum dwellings were richly inhabited. Their splendour was set in squalor, it is true; but probably the poor got their share of amusement also out of the splendour in town life, as assuredly they did in the country from the hunts, race meetings, and other jollifications paid for out of their rack-rents. Also a genuinely high standard of public taste, to which

buildings such as the Custom House and Four Courts, even in their ruins, bear evidence, made a career open to the skilled craftsman. There was life in the country and in the town.

Pitt, who at this time controlled England absolutely, had no jealousy of Ireland's advancement. But as Prime Minister of the executive which united the countries he naturally disliked a competitive system of tariffs, and he set himself to introduce a complete reciprocity under which English goods in Ireland, Irish goods in England, should be under no artificial disadvantage, and should share alike in whatever protection was given against foreign competition. He proposed, further, to open up completely to Ireland the market of the British colonies. In return he claimed from Ireland a contribution to the Navy. This scheme was outlined in ten propositions and laid before the Irish Parliament. Grattan supported it, adding an eleventh clause that Irish revenue must balance Irish expenditure before there could be any contribution to the Navy: Ireland having constantly paid for an army of 15,000, as against one of 18,000 maintained by Great Britain.

When the propositions accepted in Ireland came before the English Parliament there was a storm of opposition. England, unlike Pitt, was furiously jealous of Irish trade. On the faith of Government's pledges that the propositions would be carried, Ireland had voted a large sum in extra taxation; now the propositions were altered, at every point against Ireland's interest. When they came back to Dublin in their altered form they were rejected. Grattan had incurred unpopularity by supporting them; he lost credit by changing his view.

The discussions showed that Ireland adhered with much jealousy to its power of making separate treaties, which was a grave inconvenience to England's foreign policy. It is probable that this incident turned Pitt's mind to thoughts of a Union. Four years later, chance created another issue, which brought the inconvenience of co-ordinate parliaments under a common executive into the clearest light. George III. became insane. Opinion in the English Parliament was divided on the matter of the Regency: the Whigs, who were in opposition, held that the Prince of Wales should assume the Regency by right; the Tories, under Pitt, contending that it was for Parliament to name the Regent. They proposed, however, to name the Prince.

The Irish Parliament, claiming the sole right to bind Ireland by its Acts, refused to admit that the English Parliament should name the person to act as King of Ireland, and they therefore adopted the Whig view. Logically, this presented the possibility that Ireland might name one Regent, England another. It was a dangerous dispute raised on a mere question of form, and it came to no conclusion, for George III. recovered. But undoubtedly it pushed Pitt's inclination towards a Union; and he was probably aware that a reform of parliament would strengthen Ireland's attachment to its independence, and therefore he was disinclined to promote reform in Ireland.

It is certain, however, that Union could not have been carried in time of peace without a struggle so violent that no minister would have faced it willingly; and it is probable that in a continuance of peace Ireland's relations to England and the relation of Protestants to Catholics in Ireland might have worked themselves out harmoniously. But at the moment of the disputes about the Regency, the greatest convulsion which modern Europe had ever known shook every European State.

The French Revolution forced everyone to think. Principles which had been only matter of philosophic speculation were now violently asserted in action; the effect was world-wide; above all, it was felt in Ireland. The constant drain of all the most enterprising spirits to the Continent, combined with the exclusion from all political life of those who remained in Ireland, had produced a lethargy in the Catholic people—who were then regarded by the holders of political power as a separate and inferior nation. After four generations of servitude they had come, if not to acquiesce in their position, to regard it as a fact of nature. Out of this lethargy the Revolution galvanised them. "The first and greatest of all revolutions," says McKenna, a conservative Catholic writing in 1793, "has been produced among us without the aid of plan or project. The public spirit of the Catholics has been excited. The controversy on the French Revolution extended more universally in Ireland than any other literary discussion. The public mind was prepared by the diffusion of general principles."

The watchword of the Revolution, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," took practical form among the French in the

abolition of privilege, of religous tests, and of tithe. And France did not stand alone in this. In America, the ideas of France had already been put into practice, though in a fashion characteristic of the English race with its love of compromise. But in France they got full logical expression. The appeal to Catholic Ireland was irresistible. Privilege existed all over Europe; but in Ireland, where traditional reverence for birth and transmitted rank was strong, privilege was denied to the native noble; his rank was a laughing-stock; privilege existed in Ireland only for the alien, and was doubly hateful to the people. Religious tests existed everywhere in Europe, but only in Ireland did they disqualify or degrade a majority of the population; the abolition of them, first in America, now in France, wakened Ireland. Tithe was paid all over Europe, but except in Ireland was paid to the Church of the people. Abolition of tithe in a European country was a trumpet-call to Ireland.

Yet, at the same time, Catholic Ireland was in many ways alienated from the French cause. All the educated priests in Ireland had received their education on the Continent, and revolutionary France was increasingly at war with the clergy. Moreover, as has been seen, a great part of the best and most adventurous blood of Ireland sought a career on the Continent, but sought it in the service of the monarchy. Daniel O'Connell is a good example. His family, of noble Gaelic stock, was driven out of Limerick in Cromwellian times and became fixed in the west of Kerry, where they acquired money very largely by the smuggling trade. They supplied recruits to the Irish Brigade, generation by generation, and O'Connell's uncle, General Count O'Connell, was in high command. He first desired that his nephews should seek fortunes in the French army or navy, but by 1788 he had decided that the outlook was unpromising for Irishmen in France, and in 1790 he warned his brother against sending the boys to study at St Omer's. They were sent in spite of his warnings, and later were transferred to Douai; but by 1792 General O'Connell was a royalist refugee, and his nephews were forced to fly from Douai on the day when Louis XVI. was guillotined. All their sympathies were turned against revolutionary France; and they were typical of Catholic Ireland.

But there was another section of Ireland in which

enthusiasm for the abolition of privilege was not damped by any tenderness for the religion of Louis XVI. Ulster Presbyterians were bound as closely by ties of blood to republican America as Irish Catholics to monarchist France. They also, like Catholics, had been for generations disqualified from office, and though the legal disqualification was removed in 1780, ascendancy was so well established that in practice Presbyterians had no more chance of preferment than Catholics. Presbyterians, again, paid tithe to a Church not theirs ; they were for a republic in theory, and they detested the non-representative parliament of their country. It was in the north that revolutionary sentiment first became widely felt in Ireland. Catholic Ireland had been too long and too heavily oppressed for revolution to begin from its ranks. The seed-bed for revolutionary principles was found among the Presbyterians of Ulster. Yet the sower came from the south : Ulster has been infertile of leaders. The first thing needful for their leader to do was to convince them that they must shake off the prejudice against the Catholic religion.

Theobald Wolfe Tone was the son of a coachmaker, but he had passed through the university to the Bar ; and he adopted without reservation the principles of the French Revolution. In this he differed from Grattan, whose conservative mind believed that the prosperity of a state could best be advanced by maintaining privilege. But he differed more materially in his particular view of Ireland's necessities. To him the English connection was the source of all Ireland's ills ; to sever it was the essential for Ireland. Grattan believed that the destinies of the countries were inextricably bound up ; " the sea denies us union," he said, " but the ocean forbids separation." His policy looked to association on a basis of freedom and a union through the Crown for imperial purposes.

Tone unquestionably had separation in his mind when he joined in working for that which was also Grattan's object—a reform of parliament which would put the power of the Irish State into the hands of a really representative assembly. The method by which he sought it was that of creating a league between Catholics and Presbyterians, the two bodies who were under disability by cause of their religion. Tone's purpose was to unify and indeed to create the Irish nation ;

and he addressed himself to those who might be inclined to oppose unity because they had something to lose by admitting it. Protestant Churchmen were divided from the Catholic majority by race, by tradition, by religion, but most of all by privilege and possession. Tone, however, addressed his pamphlet, "An Argument on behalf of the Catholics," to the Presbyterians, because they were not privileged but penalised; though privileged by comparison with the Catholics. They were tenants rather than landowners; but by race, by religion, and by tradition they were apart from the mass of the Irish people. Tone appealed to the watchword Fraternity against the estrangement of race; to the Republic's emancipation from the past against the tie of tradition; and to its example of sweeping away religious disqualifications against the old sectarian animosity. The ground was prepared for his sowing. Already in the north one of the surviving Volunteer companies in Belfast had passed a resolution calling for the abolition of all religious disqualifications, and Catholic bodies had replied with votes of thanks. Belfast was now a town of nearly twenty thousand, and had gained ten thousand in population since the winning of Free Trade in 1779. It was in Belfast that Tone established the first branch of the United Irishmen, whose aim was radical reform of parliament and complete representation of all the people of Ireland. Another branch was soon established in Dublin, with Napper Tandy, an active democratic politician, for its secretary; and the society spread over the country. But its focus was Belfast.

Tone was the first of a long line of Irish Protestants who one after the other led Catholic Ireland on a path of revolt. Many of his leading associates were Churchmen, and many, if not most of them, really aimed in the first instance at simple reform; they became separatists because reform seemed impossible, owing to England's opposition. Tone had, unlike them, a genuine hatred of England, which had in his view always been the ruin of his country. The country of which he thought was not a Gaelic Ireland; he was little more concerned with its past than the Americans with that of America. His natural affinity was with the republican dissenters. But history taught him to believe that the Catholic Irish must be at the bottom of their hearts inveterately hostile to England. He probably agreed with Fitzgibbon, the opponent of their claims, that admitting them to full political rights must mean

separation, and that was to him a reason for desiring emancipation. Yet he was always a practical politician, and put forward no aim beyond reform within the constitution.

The general stir which France had put into the political world affected even the inactive body which professed to represent Catholic interest. The nobles and gentry on the Catholic committee were averse from co-operation with dissenters; but new leaders arose, of whom a Dublin merchant, Keogh, was the chief, and when Lord Kenmare and his kind seceded the great bulk of the body adhered to Keogh. Being rebuffed by the Irish Government, they went direct to the king with a petition in 1792. They were justified by the fact that in 1791 penal restrictions on Catholics in England had been largely removed. Pitt and his cabinet were inclined for concessions; but the ascendancy party in Ireland persuaded the Lord-Lieutenant that the Protestant interest in Ireland would not tolerate them. Lord Westmorland described the "frame of Irish government" as "a Protestant garrison in possession of the land, magistracy, and power of the country; holding that property under the tenure of British power and supremacy and ready at every instant to crush the rising of the conquered." These words describe the conception which Fitzgibbon had imposed upon the representative of a cabinet desiring to take another view. When the Catholic claim was actually put forward in the House, debate showed a strong body of representative Protestant opinion for it; Irish Protestants generally, living in touch with Roman Catholics, were free from the superstitious abhorrence which at this period darkened the minds of average Englishmen. But the majority did the work they were paid for, and rejected the proposal. There followed agitation in the country; Catholics held meetings in many centres; but the decisive fact was danger. By the beginning of 1793 the French had guillotined the king, and had attacked England's ally, Holland. Pitt was driven to declare war, and he needed to conciliate the mass of Ireland's people. The Chief Secretary brought in a Catholic Relief Bill which gave Catholics the vote on the same terms as Protestants, but denied them the right to sit in Parliament. It was carried with ease, and many of the leading men in the House complained that the work was not completed; that full electoral privilege was given to the illiterate Catholic poor, while the wealthy and educated

Catholic was debarred from any part in government. The Bill was in truth most disliked by the Ministers responsible for its introduction, who a year before had refused to hear of it. Fitzgibbon, now Lord Clare, as Chancellor, while refusing to oppose it, denounced it in the House of Lords as the fatal product of legislative independence. His speech did much to neutralise the effect of the concession.

Nevertheless a marked effect followed. Recruiting was very successful. Out of the eight historic Irish regiments in the British Army, three trace their origin to the year 1793. Royal Irish Fusiliers, Royal Irish Rifles, and Connaught Rangers, all had their beginning when an appeal was made to the gratitude of Catholics.

Yet war with France divided Ireland. Grattan, according to his traditional policy, supported England with fervour; Wolfe Tone and a great section of the United Irishmen urged that Ireland had no quarrel with France; and French intrigue naturally began in Ireland. Republican principles had made one remarkable convert, the Duke of Leinster's second son, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, a young soldier who had by family influence been withdrawn from the army to take a seat in the House of Commons. Proposals began to be made for arming the United Irishmen; and among the Catholics another organisation was spreading fast. In 1785 the Presbyterian tenants in County Armagh began to attack the Catholics, who were displacing them on the land, bidding higher rents and contenting themselves with a lower standard of living. The Peep o' Day Boys were bands who came round by night and wrecked houses and drove out the occupants. A rival organisation called the "Defenders" grew up, and there were pitched battles between the two. Much of Ulster and the northern parts of Meath became involved; and plunder of arms grew general. Defenderism spread through the Catholic population at large as a new Whiteboy movement directed against rent and tithes. After the outbreak of war, a Militia Act was passed, and the Defender organisation was used to resist the ballot, by which conscripts were chosen.

Yet the United Irishmen, who by their principles detested this sectarian strife, strove to repress the Defender movement; and Grattan on his part supported the Government in whatever could help on the war. By 1794 the country was declared to be "in perfect tranquillity." In that year a Coalition

Government was formed in England; a large section of the Whigs joined Pitt's administration, and these were men committed to the cause of reform in Ireland. One of them, Lord Fitzwilliam, was named as Lord-Lieutenant. He was in close touch with Grattan and with Ponsonby, a powerful controller of boroughs in the Irish House who had declared for bringing the Catholics into Parliament. Ponsonby entered the Irish administration; Grattan again refused office, but promised support. Fitzwilliam came over in the first days of 1795, as he contended, with authority to support the Catholic claim if it seemed necessary. From the first the necessity appeared to him to be urgent. A French invasion might be expected at any time; there was widespread disaffection; he proposed to form a mounted yeomanry, who should act as a police, and the obvious men for this purpose were the well-to-do Catholic farmers. Catholics therefore must be conciliated. Further, since he knew that the bureaucracy of Dublin Castle was entirely opposed to his views, he considered himself authorised to dismiss men who were not in sympathy with the policy that they were required to carry out. He had wished to dismiss Fitzgibbon from the Chancellorship. Under English conditions Lord Clare must have resigned when the Government of which he was a member adopted a policy of which he expressed his fierce condemnation. The Irish usage was different, and Pitt insisted that Lord Clare should remain. The Lord-Lieutenant only struck at smaller personages; but he created a fury of revolt among the clique who had managed the Castle's policy; and he raised the hopes of the Catholic community and of reformers to certain expectations. Then Fitzwilliam was recalled, after about six weeks' tenure of office.

The fatal step which he had taken was not the decision to carry certain reforms. It was the dismissal of John Beresford, Chief Commissioner of the Revenue, and the most influential controller of jobs. It was said a few years later that a fourth part of all patronage in Ireland went to a Beresford, or through a Beresford. Lord Clare was a connection of the Beresfords by marriage, and was part of the same interest. These people appealed direct to the king, and Fitzgibbon put in a memorandum which convinced George III. that to admit Catholics to Parliament would be a breach of his coronation oath.

The question whether Fitzwilliam carried out or exceeded his instructions in Ireland may be argued; but it appears clear, first, that his promise of reforms and emancipation ranged all Catholic Ireland in support of the war; and, secondly, that his recall was taken by all competent observers as certain to lead to rebellion. The leaders of the United Irishmen put it on record later that their movement had made little way among the Catholics till the disgrace of Fitzwilliam.

At the Lord-Lieutenant's departure, Dublin went into mourning for a whole day. After it the course of events became inevitable. The main blame must rest with Pitt. He had power more than sufficient to resist the pressure brought to bear on the king. He himself refused to allow Fitzwilliam to displace Fitzgibbon, and insisted that this declared deadly enemy of Catholic claims should remain in power. It is certain that he already desired a Union; it is probable he saw that it would be much less difficult to abolish a merely Protestant parliament than one which represented the entire nation.

Whatever the cause, the decision was taken. England dismissed the statesman who had the confidence of Catholics, Presbyterians, and very many of the ablest and best Irish Protestant gentry; he was dismissed at the solicitation of the leading traffickers in parliamentary corruption; and the whole transaction displayed cynical disregard of the foreseen consequences upon Irish feeling.

Henceforward the career of Grattan's parliament was wholly maleficent. It had been turned into an instrument of evil. Having come into being as a result of national union, in which all creeds joined to support the movement and rejoiced in its success, it had been so handled as to produce a state of affairs in which it inevitably became the rallying point of those who sought to keep Ireland perpetually divided, and who resisted fusion of the different strains of its people, as if that were a contaminating pestilence.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE REBELLION OF 1798

THERE are no more sinister pages in history than those which follow the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam. Two lines of policy were open to England: either to seek to rally the mass of Ireland to its support in a desperate war; or else, refusing Catholic Ireland all trust, to stamp it down and render it powerless—above all, to prevent its finding allies in the Protestant Irish people. England quite definitely chose the latter.

When in the session of 1795 Grattan introduced a Bill to make Catholics eligible for parliament, Toler, then Solicitor-General, whom Fitzwilliam had sought to remove from office, opposed it on the ground that admission of Catholics to such power was inconsistent with the Constitution, and could therefore never be conceded. The vast majority of the Irish were thus declared to be incapable of power in the State so long as the connection with England lasted. This was the true gospel of separation, and avowal of it marked a parting of the ways. Grattan, the constitutionalist, would no doubt have answered that such a doctrine had no foundation in law or statesmanship, and that perseverance in constitutional pressure would force Government to alter its tone. It is certain that if Ireland had united in a demand to give full citizenship to Catholics, England could not have resisted; and certain also that Irish opinion was moving in this direction more rapidly than English. But in times of revolution the slow processes of change are neglected; and Ireland, disappointed so dramatically, was little inclined to consider them. Wolfe Tone, at all events, started for America, to proceed thence to France and seek help in arms. This was now, in his view, the only possible policy for the United Irishmen. The policy of the Government meanwhile was to prevent Ireland by all means from uniting.

Even their attempts to conciliate Catholic feeling showed this purpose. The Catholic bishops had petitioned for a provision of university facilities in Ireland, because all the Catholic seminaries which Irishmen had founded on the Continent were broken up by the revolutionary armies of France. There was a proposal to connect a Catholic College with Trinity College in Dublin University. The authorities of Trinity College were at this time ready for this proposal, but Government rejected it, the Catholic bishops assenting. Maynooth was then founded by the Irish Parliament. By statute none but Catholics were to be admitted. A protest from the Catholic laity against this enforced segregation of the Irish youth during education was put forward by Grattan, but disregarded. The Irish Government throughout this period consulted the desires of the hierarchy, knowing that the bishops and perhaps the main part of the Catholic clergy were much less Nationalist than the laity. Protestant England seemed to the Irish priesthood much less dangerously hostile than revolutionary France.

But the Government did not merely refuse to adopt measures calculated to obliterate sectarian divisions. They deliberately fostered sectarian animosity. There were, as has been seen, two groups of illegal sectarian societies—the Peep o' Day Boys and the Defenders. Government encouraged the one and repressed the other. In Connaught there were Defender disturbances, and Lord Carhampton, sent down to pacify the province, simply ordered the magistrates, who were all Protestant, to arrest suspected men and send them to serve in the navy. A tender was kept on the coast to receive those so kidnapped. This was done always without sanction of law, and it was done often when a man had been tried and acquitted. Lord Camden, now Lord-Lieutenant, complained only in his dispatches that Carhampton had gone about the work " rather too publicly."

In Ulster, where rival organisations existed and great brutalities were committed on both sides, a new and sinister force appeared. The two parties met in a kind of battle at a place called the Diamond in Armagh, and the Catholics were routed. That evening the Orange Society was established, a secret oath-bound organisation limited to Protestants. Its purpose was immediately revealed in a regular campaign to expel Catholics from Armagh and the neighbouring counties.

Cabins were placarded with notices, "To Hell or Connaught," and if the occupants did not go they were driven out and their property destroyed. Catholic chapels were burnt. There was protest from some of the magistrates in County Armagh, there was discussion in Parliament, but nothing was done to stop the persecution which filled north Connaught with thousands of dispossessed Catholics.

This counteracted the efforts of the United Irishmen to bind Protestant and Catholic together in Ulster; but it drove Catholics all over Ireland into an organisation hostile to the Government. This tendency was reinforced by the formation of Orange lodges in counties predominantly Catholic. Grattan's parliament meanwhile was passing an Insurrection Act of the most stringent character, which, amongst other things, legalised the procedure of transporting suspected persons to the fleet; and Grattan as a constitutionalist could only press ineffectually that the Act should be applied equally to restrain Protestant lawlessness. The political activity of Ireland was now entirely military. Those in power were entrenching their power; the disqualified majority were seeking to arm; pikes were being forged everywhere, ash-trees cut down everywhere for hafts. Great gatherings of men took place all over the country on pretext of digging the potatoes for those who were in prison: the work was carried out in military order, each gathering was a field-day. Meanwhile Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Arthur O'Connor, both members of parliament, visited Hamburg to conspire with agents of the Directory; and throughout the year Tone was in Paris, and gradually decided the French Government to attempt an Irish expedition. A main motive with the French was to cut off from England a great source of supply in men for fleet and for army alike. The project was warmly taken up by the ablest of the revolutionary generals, Hoche, a crusader of democracy, who entered into it with a genuine desire to extend liberty.

Under his direction a great expedition was in preparation at Brest. But France never showed by sea the efficiency which distinguished her on land, and delay was overlong. Yet on 15th December 1796, 15,000 French soldiers sailed with seventeen ships of the line and a crowd of smaller vessels. Hoche was in command, Grouchy second to him, and Tone accompanied with rank as Adjutant-General. Fog separated

them, yet by 22nd December thirty-five sail were in Bantry Bay or just off it. But the ship which carried Hoche had gone astray. Then came a desperate storm from the east which blew out to sea the majority of the fleet. Grouchy, however, was anchored in the bay with 6000 men, and he decided to land. Yet the wind rose again, once more, contrary to all probability, from the east, and they failed to beat up the bay. Grouchy gave up the venture, and the fleet returned to France without a shot fired. They had been five days on the Irish coast, and during that time the people of the west of Ireland and the towns of Cork, Limerick, and Galway showed every disposition to assist the king's troops. Yet had the French landed, even with 6000 men, there was no force in Ireland to have stopped them before they reached Cork; and there is little doubt that a general rising would have followed. The weather and French incompetence in naval matters saved England's power in Ireland for that time.

Government's answer to the raid was a literal dragooning of Ireland—but more particularly in the north. The severities were exercised specially against Protestant dissenters. General Lake was put in command. Search for arms was carried out very largely by local yeomanry authorised to enter the houses of their political opponents and act at their own discretion. Yet the worst excesses were committed by imported troops, and the Ancient Britons, a Welsh regiment, operating about Newry, burnt houses wholesale and killed old and young.

A genuine fear of massacre now spread through Catholic Ireland; there was no longer any possibility of doubt that a French landing would be welcomed; and throughout the summer of 1797 one was expected. Holland, conquered by France, had welcomed its conquerers, and the Batavian Republic was preparing a greater fleet than had started with Hoche, and preparing it with far more naval skill. Another expedition from Brest was planned to support it. Moreover, in May 1797 came the Mutiny of the Nore—caused, amongst other reasons, by the presence of many deported Irishmen in the fleet. The mutiny indeed was quelled by June, but in July, when the Dutch expedition was ready to sail, the English fleet was still in no case to resist it. Once more, weather helped England. For six weeks of summer a continuance of wind in one point kept the Dutch weatherbound

in the Texel, while the English navy was strengthened. When at last the Dutch came out they were crushed at the Battle of Camperdown. A month earlier Hoche, the great advocate of the Irish expedition, had died. Bonaparte, who succeeded to his leadership, was never attracted by this adventure.

The failure of the French to profit by the Nore mutiny undoubtedly shook the party that counted on French aid, and even now a policy of conciliation and reform might have avoided rebellion. But violence was in power. On 15th May 1797, Ponsonby in the House of Commons moved resolutions calling for reform which should put Catholics completely on the same footing as Protestants and should create a really representative parliament. Grattan supported it, and emphasised once more his conception of what a representative parliament should be. It should represent the property of a nation as well as the population. Votes should be given to " population, mixed with property and annexed to residence." He complained that representation now was separate from either—that it was a kind of property in itself, owned by a very few. He urged his belief that reform would reconcile " the bulk of the nation," and would leave the leaders of separation without a following. The only alternative was, he said, "a military government, a perfect despotism." Suppose a French invasion, the result would be to lose Ireland, as America had been lost. But he spoke as one knowing the hopelessness of his appeal, and his speech ended with an intimation that, failing to carry their motion, he and his party would withdraw from the House. They did so ; Grattan's parliament ceased to be attended by Grattan, and in 1798 at the general election he refused to stand.

But for the wind which kept the Dutch in the Texel during July and August of that year, Grattan's prophecy would almost certainly have been realised in three months. Yet England's sea power emerged stronger than ever, and the policy of violence got a free hand in Ireland. Once more it was concentrated on Ulster. Troops were massed there, and the repression by troops was accompanied with a deliberate connivance at all excesses of the Orange mob. There was a fresh exodus of the persecuted population into Connaught, and a fresh spreading of the story that a general massacre of the Catholics was intended. Inevitably there were reprisals, especially killing of informers. In a sense, the United Irish-

men's work was being done for them; Presbyterians and Catholics were to some degree fused by a common oppression. The execution of William Orr, a popular young Presbyterian farmer, on a charge of having administered the United Irishmen's oath to two soldiers, raised a passion of resentment which made rebels of many Presbyterians. But on the whole, in a military sense, the operations in Ulster were successful. Great quantities of arms were captured, the United organisation was crippled where it was strongest; and the spirit of resistance, as events proved, was largely broken in Ulster. In this result France helped.

Over the south and west of Ireland a hundred years' suppression of education had done its work and left the mass of the people incapable of political ideas. Each man felt the burden of certain definite oppressions—above all, the impost of tithes; since this was a tax for which the payer got nothing, a subsidy to a religion which he disowned; and the levying of it through tithe-farmers, who computed each year the tenth of his produce in crops, and even of the turf brought in for firing, and carried away the yield of his labour before his eyes, was in its nature provocative and harassing. The leaders of the United Irishmen admitted later that to win the uneducated Catholics, the only possible appeal must be material; Catholics needed to be promised that they should pay no tithes—more than that, that they should pay no rent, after the rising had succeeded. Yet there was here something more than a simple desire for cheaper land. Deep down in the people lay a racial memory of confiscation, a transmitted knowledge that lands now owned by others had been theirs, and still by right should be; and there was a hope that could be stimulated of a great revolution in ownership. It was different in the north. Here among the Presbyterians the high tradition of education which they had brought from Scotland was handed on; they were a thinking, politically-minded, democratic stock, with a fervid admiration for republican America, republican France. Now, however, they saw dominant France destroying the republics of Genoa, of Venice, and of Switzerland by armed force and imposing on them constitutions dictated from Paris. They saw also, in the very winter of 1797–98 when their province was being trampled on for its French sympathies, France seeking to force submission from that other republic so largely built up

by Ulstermen. America was appealing to the civilised world against French oppression and the French demand for tribute. War between the two republics seemed inevitable, and Presbyterian Ulster was against France.

Catholic Ireland also was offended by France's occupation of the Papal territory. All the Catholic hierarchy in this period were doing their utmost to keep Ireland quiet. Their power was not great; the clergy had in this century grown even more submissive than the people; leadership was not with them. But they wanted peace, and they were a force working for peace, which might have become strong if given a lever.

One of the few competent soldiers of that time also saw this. Lord Cornwallis was pressed to become commander-in-chief, but refused, because in his opinion Catholic emancipation was a necessity to put Ireland in a state of obedience and security, and he would not undertake a task when denied the necessary means. Catholics and dissenters were being driven into a common lump of disaffection, and he refused to become responsible for the consequences which he foresaw. Later, he was called in to deal with them. Another soldier also tried to avoid driving Ireland into rebellion. Sir Ralph Abercromby, who had served long in Ireland during the American War, was appointed commander-in-chief in the autumn of 1797. He found that troops had been scattered about in little parties to protect the houses of the gentlemen who voted against Catholic relief, or their supporters, and discipline had of course gone to pieces. Two things resulted. First, the troops were in no condition or position to be of use against a body of trained soldiers if there were an invasion; secondly, outrages were universal—partly from mere drunken disorder. "But a large class," says Lecky, "of which the burning of houses formed the most conspicuous example, were illegal acts of violence, deliberately carried out in places where murders had been committed or where arms had been concealed, and deliberately screened by men in authority from the intervention of the law courts."

Abercromby in a series of letters to commanding officers insisted that troops should confine themselves within the bounds of what was legal. Finally in February 1798 he issued a general order which declared the army in Ireland "to be in a state of licentiousness which must render it

formidable to everyone but the enemy"; and pointed out that the standing orders of the kingdom forbade action by troops except upon the requisition of the civil authority. Abercromby certainly omitted to notice that a proclamation of the previous May had instructed the military to act without such authority. The result was a furious intrigue, headed by Lord Clare and warmly supported by General Lake, who had been in charge of the dragooning of Ulster. Abercromby resigned. He took the view that the supposed rebelliousness of the country was exaggerated; he himself had travelled through the districts supposed to be most disturbed without an escort. As to his charge about discipline, he complained in a private letter that the army was being degraded and ruined "from the violence and oppression of a set of men who have for more than twelve months employed it in measures which they durst not avow or sanction. . . . Within these twelve months every crime, every cruelty that could be committed by Cossacks and Calmucks, has been transacted here."

Abercromby left Ireland in April 1798. Before then the tragedy had begun to unroll itself.

Pitt's expenditure of secret service money had hired a crop of well-placed spies, and Government were fully aware that the United Irishmen had active agents in France. They knew that Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Arthur O'Connor, both members of parliament, were deeply implicated; but they had no evidence that they could produce. Their main source was a barrister, Leonard MacNally, who passed as a leading patriot, and who in course of time was frequently employed to defend, apparently at great personal risk, those whom his information had brought into the dock. Government knew also that there was a small supreme executive of the United Irishmen, but its membership was not known. This body then consisted of Thomas Addis Emmet, Arthur O'Connor, Oliver Bond, James McNevin, and Richard McCormack, of whom only the last two were Catholics. Emmet, the leading man, was a barrister, son of an eminent physician. Under the Supreme Executive was an Executive for each province. Lord Edward was head of the military organisation, which had a nominal strength of over a quarter of a million.

In February Arthur O'Connor was captured in England on his way to France. Early in March the Government learnt

that the Provincial Directory of Leinster would meet at Bond's house. A message had come from France promising an expedition in April or early in May. Preparations for a rising were to be made at this meeting; and many papers relating to the organisation were seized at Bond's house, along with fifteen members of the committee. Emmet, McNevin, and others were captured elsewhere on the same day.

This went far to upset the whole organisation, which had no depth. Substitutes had not been provided or instructed. Government now had full grounds to go on, and on 30th March they proclaimed martial law over the whole country, with power to put troops at free quarters wherever the military chose. This form of collective punishment was largely employed, as well as burning houses. The search for arms was fierce, and torture of many kinds was freely employed. Women were outraged at will. In short, there was a deliberate policy of driving the people into open revolt so that the rebellion might explode prematurely, or piecemeal.

Lord Edward Fitzgerald was still at large, and he had fixed 23rd May as the date for a general rising, whether the French came or not. But on 19th May he was arrested in Thomas Street after a scuffle in which he wounded two police officers, and was wounded by a third. He died of the wound in jail on 4th June.

Immediately after his arrest the Directory, which had been reconstructed after the arrests in March, was broken up by the capture of the brothers Sheares; and thus when the fatal day came, the whole conspiracy was leaderless. Yet the rebellion broke out in many places throughout Leinster. The signal was given by stopping the mail coaches on Wednesday 23rd, and on that night there were disconnected risings in County Dublin, in Kildare and Meath, and even so far out as Queen's County and Carlow. But nothing stirred in Ulster, Munster, or Connaught: by Saturday 26th all the first outbreaks had been put down. A detachment was cut up by surprise at Prosperous in Kildare on the 24th, but nowhere else had the rebels more than the most trivial success, and, speaking generally, their attacks were repulsed with great slaughter. At the Curragh a body of 2000 surrendered to General Dundas on promise of a free pardon; a short truce was made, and the whole force left their arms and scattered. Dundas was furiously blamed. Three days later, another

commando had also agreed to surrender, also on the Curragh, to Sir James Duff, who was there with 600 men. It is said that a gun was fired from the insurgent ranks; the troops answered with a general volley, the surrendering party broke and was slaughtered over the Curragh by Lord Jocelyn's Foxhunters. Grattan's House of Commons censured Dundas and moved a vote of thanks to Sir James Duff.

In Wicklow and Wexford there was no insurrection on the 23rd; but troops were not idle. They executed thirty-four men at Dunlavin in Wicklow without trial on the 24th; twenty-eight at Carnew in Wexford on the 25th. On the 26th, Father John Murphy, curate of Boolavogue, to the east of Gorey, called his people together and advised them to defend themselves, offering to lead them. By his advice they ambushed a detachment of yeoman cavalry who were scouring the country, and killed the whole party of eighteen or twenty men with pitchforks. This gave them command of Camolin Park, where the detachment was stationed, and they secured arms here. The news spread, and men flocked in thousands to the standard of successful resistance. Next day, Sunday 27th, Father Murphy marched at the head of his mob—it was as yet no more—to Oulart Hill, ten miles from Wexford and five from Enniscorthy. Here they were attacked by a mixed force of militia and cavalry, very inferior in numbers. Only five of the militia survived the charge of the pikemen; the cavalry fled. Next day the insurgents marched to Enniscorthy, and after sharp fighting captured this important town. Within three days the outbreak had developed to the proportions of a war. Wexford, held by some 1200 soldiers with artillery, fell next, the garrison evacuating it; and Bagenal Harvey, a leading Protestant landlord of liberal sympathies who had been imprisoned, was liberated, and by a strange movement was named commander-in-chief.

Three considerable engagements followed: one at Newtownbarry, where the insurgents were defeated in their purpose to occupy a frontier town which commands the main road through the mountains into Carlow; another at Gorey, in which they forced 1500 men with five pieces of artillery under General Loftus to evacuate Gorey, thus opening the road to Arklow and the Wicklow coast. The third was the attempt to capture New Ross, and it amounted to a pitched battle of

twelve hours' duration. The rebels had to dislodge some 1500 soldiers with artillery from behind walled defences, and they did it after fearful carnage; the town was theirs, but General Johnson, calculating on what would happen with undisciplined men, counter-attacked from across the bridge by which he had retreated, and retrieved the day.

This engagement on 5th June was really the turning-point of the Wexford war. Success would have opened the way into Kilkenny, where the population would assuredly have risen to join a victorious force. It was followed a few days later by a defeat of the northern detachment that had taken Gorey, but had neglected to seize Arklow; they attempted it too late, were defeated, and on that side also Wexford was hemmed in.

Lake was now gathering great forces; no other part of Ireland hindered him. There was a small rising at Antrim, another in the north-east of County Down, about Saintfield; in both places it soon collapsed; there was no general movement of the population even in these two counties, which were then considered the very heart of rebellion. In Wexford the northern force fell back from Gorey on Vinegar Hill, near Enniscorthy, which had been continuously occupied as a rebel camp. Here the decisive battle took place on 21st June. Johnson had the principal part in it, and the regular troops cannot have been much inferior in number to the rebels; the conclusion was foregone. But for Lake's incompetence, or that of his battalion commanders, the rout would have been a massacre; nearly all escaped to fall back on Wexford town, into which had gathered all the dregs of the rebellion.

The Wexford rebels had earned a name for desperate courage which no history can deny them. But all their camps were full of a mob hanging on to the fighting men. At Vinegar Hill many brutal things had been done; very many Protestants were put to death; but here there was definitely a discrimination. The man who had tortured his neighbours paid for it; many for whose kindness someone could vouch were spared; if some innocent suffered, assuredly the Protestant operations before the rebellion broke out did not touch only the guilty. But on the day of the battle at New Ross the worse element in the rebel ranks bolted early from the fight, came back to the camp from which they had

started with a story that all was lost, and all Catholics were massacred; and declared that they had an order to kill all the Protestants who were under guard at a place called Scullabogue, beside the camp. The butchery was carried out, whether of one hundred or two hundred persons does not greatly matter. There was, anyhow, a wholesale butchery. At Wexford, while the fighting men were in the field, the town was held by the rabble, and these looted and threatened murder. Yet one thing they did not; they outraged no women. But finally on 20th June, when an engagement was in progress at the Three Rock Mountain, near Wexford, the town mob broke loose, headed by a man called Dixon, and brought out the prisoners to be murdered. Most of them were killed on the bridge and thrown into the water; it is said ninety-seven in all perished. The horror was stopped by the skilful intervention of Edward Roche, brother of a priest who was one of the chief leaders in battle.

Next day Wexford was reoccupied by the Crown forces. This really ended the Wexford war, though part of the insurgent forces broke through westwards from the north of the county, and prolonged the struggle for some time; a remnant of this remnant indeed remained for a considerable time as outlaws in the mountains.

The Wexford rebellion has constantly been represented as a war of religion, and for political purposes this aspect of it was instantly exaggerated, to disgust Protestant Ulster; the device had considerable success. But the statement is quite untrue if it means that Catholics in County Wexford made war on all who were not of their own religion. They chose a Protestant to be their leader, and many other Protestants were prominent among them. But much clearer proof is afforded by the fact that in the county there were many Quakers; none of them went away from his house, and none suffered in any way. The Catholics undoubtedly made war and inflicted reprisals on those whom they believed to be their enemies; the more ignorant of them thought that all Protestants were Orangemen, and they knew that Orangemen were their enemies. Yet there was none that did not know that a Quaker was not a Catholic.

In Wexford the governor of the place, Keogh, was a Protestant. His constant exertions to protect prisoners and maintain decent order were supported by the Catholic bishop

and Catholic priests. It is true that Catholic priests led in the field ; equally true that two of them showed remarkable military gifts, and that no killing of prisoners took place in the camp where Father Roche commanded.

In truth, the war was not of Catholics against Protestants, but of those who had suffered by the pitchcap and the lash against the party of those who had wielded them. Protestantism had been made the badge indicating the qualification to be in power ; it was the monopolising of power and the misuse of power that produced the rebellion. In 1798 and the years leading up to it, the offences of Protestants against Catholics were much more heinous than those of Catholics against Protestants. Yet, as from 1641 so from 1798, the ascendant class remember only the savagery of the conquered when they broke loose ; the savagery of the conqueror is regarded only as just retribution, whether before or after the offence.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE UNION

It had taken 30,000 men to put down the rising of one county in May and June 1798. The failure of the movement to spread shows how inorganic as yet was the structure of that Irish nation to which Tone and Grattan in their different ways rendered allegiance. It must, if their conception were to be realised, blend the original Irish and the descendants of the Catholic Anglo-Irish with the vast mass of Scottish and British Protestant stock poured in from the Ulster plantation onwards. A healthy self-directing people can assimilate foreign elements very quickly. But in Ireland the policy of Government had been directed to preventing assimilation, in the supposed interests of England and the English garrison. The rebellion of 1798 was really once more a war to claim that Ireland should be governed by the Irish in the interests of Ireland, according to Irish ideas; and those who set rebellion in motion were mostly men of the new-imported stock. Their hold on the country was incomplete. Wexford only rose in mass because its priests led it; they took the place of the old clan leaders. Only in Kildare was anything shown of a similar spirit, and there it was undoubtedly due to the traditional leadership of the Geraldines which Lord Edward inherited.

The failure of the rebellion is no condemnation of those who advocated and attempted it; Ireland had just and ample cause to rebel, and an episode which followed the crushing of the Wexford rising shows what might have happened had the French Government been willing or able to carry out its promise of support. Bonaparte, after Hoche's death, had diverted the transmarine enterprise of France to Egypt and the East; but Tone succeeded in persuading the Directory to undertake a number of small landings on the

coast. The first of these, under Humbert, a typical soldier of the Republic, landed at Killala, in Mayo, on 22nd August. Their coming evoked more animosity than support among the western Irish at first; not unnaturally, for the whole force numbered only 1000. They distributed arms among such Irish as would take them, and then marched on Castlebar. Humbert, having left a party at his base, had about 700 French and an uncertain number of untrained Irish when he reached the place. Cornwallis, who had been appointed Viceroy, sent down Lake to Connaught with about 20,000 men at his disposal. It is uncertain how many were actually in position at Castlebar, but they were nearer three than two to one against the French. Abercromby's prediction was fully verified. Lake and his troops, after their long career of pillage and outrage, bolted like rabbits; "the races of Castlebar" took them through Tuam to Athlone. They only stopped to plunder, and Cornwallis issued a general order to their officers hardly less fierce than Abercromby's.

All northern Connaught was at the disposal of the insurgents; yet there was no general rising, and Humbert, pursued by some 20,000 men, finally surrendered. The troops were now free to carry out the work to which they had become accustomed, and there was another orgy of butchery and burning in this province, where, according to the Protestant Bishop of Killala, who was a prisoner from first to last, no Protestant or any other person was injured by the rebels except in fair action.

The last important incident of the rebellion ended the career of him who was its chief driving force. Wolfe Tone sailed with a second expedition under Bompard in September. It consisted of one ship of the line, the *Hoche*, and eight frigates. By 12th October it was off Lough Swilly, where a superior British force overpowered it. Tone was captured, recognised, and imprisoned; he asked only to be shot, as the French did with *émigrés* taken in arms against them; but he was sentenced to be hanged, and he cut his throat in prison. The wound was not immediately fatal, and the military, under direction from Lord Cornwallis, sought to carry out the hanging of the dying man. This outrage was prevented by Wolfe, Lord Kilwarden, who decided that while the ordinary courts were sitting a court-martial had no jurisdiction when no state of war existed. Yet Cornwallis

was at this time violently blamed by the dominant party in Ireland for undue leniency. Its most typical figure was John Beresford, who had had the chief part in destroying Fitzwilliam's mission of peace. There is due to Beresford the credit of having chosen the architect, Gandon, who built the Custom House, and of having enabled him fully to carry out his designs. The oligarchy which circumstances in Ireland had produced in the eighteenth century had culture. But the building so acquired became for many years virtually a hereditary possession of the Beresfords ; they owned it and the jobs that went with it ; and near this palace of his, John Beresford had set up a riding-school for the training of his horses. This riding-school during 1797–1798 was the place chosen for carrying out floggings, pitchcappings, and other forms of torture in the Irish capital.

History, if it is to teach anything, cannot palliate the deeds of those years, for they stamped a character upon Irish destiny. They fixed finally in the mass of people in Ireland a sense that law existed for their oppression, not their protection. By making felons of brave and honourable men, they tended to make a hero of every felon.

It should not be forgotten that England in these years was fighting for existence, and was well justified in fighting ; and that Ireland in the main from 1795 onwards sided against England. Yet Grattan's attachment to the principles for which England fought was no less than Pitt's : and Cornwallis, an able soldier, saw that even from the standpoint of military interest Grattan was right ; the true policy was to extend liberty, not to curtail it. Abercromby had the war at heart as much as Lake and his subordinates, and saw that the methods employed by such men as they were ruinous to England's military interest as well as to her honour. Finally, there is no doubt that Pitt himself approved the statesmanship of those Irish Protestants who desired to extend the privileges of which they had been given the monopoly to all their fellow-subjects ; yet Pitt in the last resort threw all his influence against Grattan and on the side of Beresford and his like.

Pitt's decision, however, was not to continue the system on which Ireland had been governed. Grattan sought to transform this till it became, in Swift's phrase, really " government by the consent of the governed." Pitt was not prepared to allow Ireland to be governed by the Irish according to

Irish ideas: but he determined that it should no longer be governed solely by such as the Beresfords. He would not allow the Irish Parliament to be mended, and therefore he decided to end it.

From 1782 onwards the idea of Union had been advocated in confidential dispatches by all the Viceroys, in the interest of England. Since the enfranchisement of Catholics in 1793, it had been secretly advocated by Lord Clare; but it was generally unpopular in Ireland. The rebellion modified this unpopularity; fear led those who regarded themselves as the English garrison to think that their position and property would be more secure under the direct government of England. Many have held that the English Government desired the rebellion as a necessary precursor to Union: there is general agreement that the rebellion created an opportunity for effecting Union which was recognised and exploited.

There was, however, a difference in aims. Cornwallis desired to create a positive desire for Union by promising full equality to Catholics once they came under an Imperial Parliament. In that assembly the Catholic element could not be preponderant, as it must be in a representative Irish Parliament. Pitt inclined in this way; but Lord Clare persuaded him that Irish Protestant opinion would not tolerate this. By the end of 1798 a semi-official pamphlet advocating Union was published. The Irish Bar replied by a resolution condemning it. The bankers and merchants of Dublin did the same. Ulster, however, showed indifference, except, strangely enough, the Orange order, who opposed the idea.

The Catholic hierarchy and the Catholic peers were inclined to favour Union. The Corporation of Cork was for it; Cork hoped great things for its harbour. Parliament met in January 1799, and the subject was mentioned in the address in veiled phrases. But a definite amendment was moved at once declaring "the undoubted birthright of the people of Ireland to have a resident and independent legislature." This amendment was only lost by one vote, even in a House packed with placemen. This was tantamount to sure defeat for a Bill. After some further proceedings the paragraph in the address was withdrawn, and bonfires were lit in Dublin; the Speaker, Foster, who had been fiercely opposed to Catholic claims and savagely coercionist in the rebellion, now became a hero for his known opposition to Union.

But at the same time Ministers in the English Parliament carried without a division an address in which Union was foreshadowed, and Pitt on January 31st introduced resolutions to outline his proposal—which was to be left "to the dispassionate and sober judgment of the parliament of Ireland." During its session that parliament inevitably returned to the subject, and in one debate Foster made his full reply to Pitt's speech. His main objections were that an absentee parliament could never be as serviceable as a resident one; that the change to London would draw the best elements out of the country; and that it would involve Ireland, with its small national debt and low taxation, in a common system with Great Britain's huge debt and high taxes. He pointed to the growing prosperity of the country since 1782—which was admitted on all sides; the advance in prosperity since the parliament got its freedom was said to have been without parallel in Europe. Finally, he demanded appeal to the people. Martial law had been declared anew; there was an aftermath of rebellion all over the country, in the shape of agrarian crime committed by armed bands. Under colour of preventing seditious assemblies, county meetings to denounce the Union were prohibited; the voice of Ireland could not make itself heard. Undoubtedly, in 1799 Foster had the Irish Parliament with him. Government, however, which was now mainly conducted by Lord Castlereagh, a young landowner from the north of Ireland, set to work to change parliament's mind. Some, whose conscience would not allow them to vote for the measure, were offered places or pensions, and resigned, leaving their seats to be filled by others more amenable. The great borough owners were bought out. Twenty-eight new peerages were created, and there were twenty-six promotions in the peerage. Cash supplemented honour. Eighty boroughs, returning one hundred and sixty members, were purchased from their owners for a million and a quarter; the cost of this transaction was added to the Irish national debt. Much of this money went to opponents of the Union; Lord Downshire, for instance, got £52,000; he retained his personal right to vote against it, while selling his power to render effective opposition. Every possible job was employed in the same way, and by the beginning of 1800 a majority was secure. Meantime, the Catholic bishops, pressed to do so by the Government, were actively canvassing in support. A meeting

of the lay Catholics in Dublin, however, repudiated the idea that Irish Catholics were willing to "seek advantages as a sect, which would destroy them as a nation." These words were spoken at the meeting by Daniel O'Connell, then a young lawyer making his first public political speech.

When Grattan's parliament met for the last time, Grattan had returned to it; a borough fell vacant, and the seat was purchased for him. He came back a sick man, but wearing the Volunteer uniform, in appeal to the traditions of 1782. His eloquence had never been more wonderful; but it could not affect bought votes. Moreover, behind the bribery was in many minds a genuine feeling, which found expression in Lord Clare's speech upon the Bill.

"What was the situation of Ireland at the revolution? and what is it at this day? The whole power and property of the country has been conferred by successive monarchs of England upon an English colony, composed of three sets of English adventurers who poured into this country at the termination of three successive rebellions; confiscation is their common title; and from their first settlement they have been hemmed in on every side by the old inhabitants of the island, brooding over their discontents in sullen indignation. . . . What was the security of the English settlers for their physical existence at the revolution? and what is the security of their descendants at this day? The powerful and commanding protection of Great Britain. If by any fatality it fails, you are at the mercy of the old inhabitants of this island; and I should have hoped that the samples of mercy exhibited by them in the progress of the late rebellion would have taught the gentlemen who call themselves the Irish nation to reflect with sober attention on the dangers which surround them."

Such were the arguments by which the Act of Union was carried. The detail of the measure and especially its finance must be examined in a later chapter. Here it suffices to dwell on the circumstances of its passing, as described by Grey in the British Parliament. "One hundred and seven thousand persons signed petitions against it; 3000 for. The Irish House of Commons had 300 members. One hundred and twenty opposed the measure, including two-thirds of the county members, the representatives of Dublin and of almost all towns which were to send members to Westminster. One hundred and sixty-two voted for it. Of these, 116 were

placemen—some were English generals on the staff, without a foot of ground in Ireland and completely dependent upon Government. All persons holding office under Government, if they hesitated to vote as directed, had been stripped of their employment. No less than sixty-three seats had been vacated by their holders having received nominal offices. . . . Could it be doubted that the Union was being forced through contrary to the plain wish of the Irish nation, contrary to the real wish even of the Irish Parliament ? "

Yet perhaps the gravest matter of all is that a House, elected when no such question was before the electorate, was by corrupt means induced to vote its own extinction without any opportunity given to those whom it represented to declare their voice at the polls.

This, however, does not exhaust the indictment against the authors of the Union. Castlereagh himself, who engineered the passage of the Bill, has left it on record that in 1799 he warned the cabinet " that the measure could not be carried if the Catholics were in active opposition to it," and that they would resist if their exclusion from office were to be permanent. Cornwallis was then authorised to encourage the Catholics to expect admission to office. " In consequence," said Castlereagh, " the Irish Government omitted no exertion to call forth the Catholics in favour of the Union. Their efforts were very generally successful " . . . particularly with regard to the southern and western county members. The thing was managed with such tact that no direct assurance was given ; it remained merely an obligation of honour. The cabinet, however, had concealed from the Catholic leaders, and possibly from Cornwallis, that the king had already warned Ministers that in his view concessions to Catholics would be a breach of his coronation oath. When, after the Union was carried, Pitt proposed emancipation, the king refused. Pitt accepted King George's decision, but, to satisfy honour, resigned office at a moment not inconvenient to himself; and resumed it after an interval without making justice to the Catholics a condition of his return. These are the main facts which must always be remembered about the passage of the Union.

It should, however, be added that the opposition most unhappily limited their effort to defeating the principle of the measure : they made no serious effort to modify its detail

in Committee. The gravest consequence was economic. Ireland in 1800, unlike Scotland in 1700, had very little to gain commercially by a Union. Scotland was before its Union excluded completely from trade with the English colonies, as was also Ireland at that date; and at that date the Irish Parliament also desired a Union. But what Ireland had gained between 1779 and 1783 was so far-reaching that in 1785 Grattan supported Pitt's original proposals of complete reciprocity mainly from a desire to promote cordial relations. But under this proposal Ireland remained free to adjust her own taxation and limit her own expenditure. With the Union this power vanished; yet it was not proposed that both countries should come under an identical system of taxation. The united parliament was to decide expenditure; Ireland was to contribute to it only in accordance with her estimated capacity. How much, then, in comparison with Great Britain should Ireland pay? The Irish population was about five millions, the British about twelve; but the British admittedly much richer. On the other hand, the Irish national debt was very much lower in proportion. In 1793 it was two and a quarter millions: in 1797, after four years of war, it had risen only to six and a half millions. By the time the Union was completed it amounted to twenty-eight and a half millions, of which over six millions are attributable to the cost of suppressing the rebellion, and a million and a half to that of buying out the Irish Parliament. But the British debt in 1801 was four hundred and twenty millions.

The proposal of the Act of Union was that Ireland's capacity to pay should be estimated at two-seventeenths that of Great Britain. A counter-proposal to put it at one-tenth was rejected. It was admitted as early as 1822 by a British Chancellor of the Exchequer that the estimate had been unfair; yet it had perhaps been not unnatural. Ireland was then exceedingly prosperous. Even during the rebellion apparent prosperity increased, and naturally, for England was in the middle of a great war and Ireland was a great source of food supply. Separate exchequers were preserved by the Act; but the principle of dividing expenditure was that two-seventeenths of the total were attributed to Ireland, and the Irish debt was increased accordingly, without Ireland's control.

It is true that no one in 1800 foresaw that England was engaged in a gigantic war which would last another fifteen

years. It is equally true that the possible financial consequences to Ireland were never seriously faced. Professor Dicey has set out the difference between the two Unions, out of which the Imperial Parliament of 1800 and onwards resulted.

"The Scottish Act of Union embodied what was, not in name only but in reality, a treaty or contract freely made between two independent states. . . . But the Union with Ireland lacked all that element of free consent between independent contracting parties which lies at the basis of every genuine contract. Of the deliberate negotiation, of the calm, satisfactory, business-like haggling for national advantages which marked the negotiations between the Scotch and the English commissioners, of the close consideration of minute details by competent representatives of both countries, there is not a trace in the negotiations, if negotiations they can be called, between England and Ireland. . . . The Irish Protestants were dazed with horror at the massacres of the rebellion; the Irish Catholics were lulled into acquiescence by promises which were made only to be broken; no appeal was made to the Irish constituencies; and the members of both Houses of Parliament were corrupted. The Act of the Union was, in short, an agreement which, could it have been referred to a court of law, must at once have been cancelled as a contract hopelessly tainted with fraud and corruption."

That is the view of a political writer and thinker who none the less was amongst the strongest supporters of the legislative Union, a century after its completion. Within a decade after its passing, many who had been its most eloquent opponents were committed to its support. Grattan maintained his dignity and independence: he raised at Westminster many of the issues for which he had contended in College Green. But many of the lawyers who had declaimed against the extinction of Ireland's independence were soon in office or on the bench. The country at large, after the turmoil through which it had passed, settled down again into an apathy broken only by a last flicker of insurrection.

When the Union passed, the United Irish organisation still subsisted; agents were still busy in France; and in Ireland leadership had been assumed by the younger brother of Thomas Addis Emmet. Robert Emmet had been expelled from Trinity College in 1798 when a visitation was held to

inquire into seditious associations. He had not been involved in the rebellion ; but he held the United Irishmen's principles in their extreme form. His conspiracy, which came to a head in July 1803, was the work of a mind boyishly ingenious and ingenuous ; the projected attempt to seize Dublin Castle never even got near the gates ; the little mob of armed men suddenly emerging on the street attacked Lord Kilwarden's coach, which happened to be passing, and killed the old judge ; this was their only deed. Emmet fled to the hills ; but after some weeks " on his keeping " was seized and tried, sentenced and hanged. The rising got no support, moral or material ; and Emmet's young figure seemed to be swept aside into the limbo of futile tragedies. Yet the speech which he delivered from the dock was an utterance of such power, and so completely expressed the inmost idealism of the Ireland for which Tone and his comrades strove, that Emmet's personality left its mark deep on Irish history, and perhaps influenced Ireland's development more than all the genius of Grattan. This, after all, is not unnatural. The constitutional statesman aims essentially after that which is possible at the moment ; if he fail, his example may affect others, but the reasoning which he uses will not be applicable to another age ; he will be more likely to mislead than to guide his successors. The idealist shapes a vision which may be remote from reality ; but if the personality be strong enough, the vision will last, and may ultimately come to produce its own realisation. England rejected Grattan's counsel, which would have given Ireland much ; left with nothing, Ireland turned in her disappointment to seek after the realisation of Emmet's dream. Tone, through sheer energy of a most able intelligence, applying its enterprise at the critical moment, had threatened the British power in Ireland so formidably that history must attribute his failure mainly to an almost incredible run of chances against him. Emmet might well seem to have made rebellion not only hateful, but contemptible ; yet perhaps nothing in all Tone's actions had so much potency as the last words of Emmet's speech from the dock :

" Let no man write my epitaph ; for as no man who knows my motives dares now vindicate them, let not prejudice or ignorance asperse them. When my country takes her place among the nations of the earth, then, and not till then, let my epitaph be written."

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE FIRST EFFECTS OF THE UNION

THE Legislative Union was mainly the work of four men—Pitt, Fitzgibbon, Castlereagh, and Cornwallis. Of these four, three had the same policy in view. Pitt disliked very much the idea of a dual monarchy with two co-ordinate parliaments, each carrying out a commercial policy of its own. He disliked, as did Castlereagh and Cornwallis, the idea of a predominantly Catholic state in Ireland, and he saw that if equal rights were accorded to all religions in Ireland, Ireland must become a Catholic state under a Protestant monarchy. But he also disliked the idea of maintaining a proscription which denied equal rights to a great body of the king's subjects; and his policy was therefore a Union in which Catholics, though having equal rights with other subjects, would not be in a majority of the electorate, since that electorate would comprise the three kingdoms. Many Irish Catholics, especially the hierarchy, were willing to accept this arrangement; and both Castlereagh and Cornwallis, working with this end in view, held out to influential men promises of that complete equality of privilege under a Union which Pitt desired to see them attain. Yet the policy which prevailed was not Pitt's, but that of Fitzgibbon, who is generally remembered as Lord Clare. Clare's conception of Ireland was set out in the speech quoted in an earlier chapter. It was a country in which the whole power and property had been transferred from the natives to settlers whose common title was confiscation. His sole purpose was to maintain that title; he saw that the Protestants in Ireland were not strong enough to maintain it by themselves, and he desired a "Protestant Union," through which, by the added weight of England, the "old inhabitants of the island" might be kept in the position of inferiority which had been assigned to them.

The question was left unsettled till after the Union ; that measure was difficult to carry, and Fitzgibbon with his partisans persuaded Pitt that it would be impossible if the admission of Catholics to full civic rights were made one of its articles. When the Union was completed, the king's opposition was allowed by Pitt to appear insurmountable. Catholic Ireland was thrown back on its own resources to obtain redress.

It should always be remembered that the Union with Scotland admitted all the Scottish people to all rights that were enjoyed by Englishmen ; and that though the religion of Scotland differed from that of the English king, the Church of the majority in Scotland was by the Act of Union made the Established Church of Scotland. In Ireland an article of the Act of Union declared the Protestant Episcopal Church to be established in perpetuity. The history of the period since the Union records the efforts of those whom Lord Clare called " the old inhabitants of the island " to regain equal rights for their religion and to win back control of the power and property of their country. This revolution has taken five generations to achieve. In a self-governing country revolution is rapidly accomplished, as it was in France. In Ireland, a subject and disarmed population was forced to attain its end by sheer persistence, against the will of the great European power which held it in subjection and maintained the privileged garrison. The process was long and painful ; but the means employed were in their essence revolutionary, because no others succeeded.

From the first the Union was unpopular in Ireland, especially in the capital, where decay immediately set in, as the richer classes transferred their abode and their expenditure to the seat of power in London. The Catholic population—above all, the more educated sections of it—resented the breach of faith which denied them the promised equality. Manufactures dwindled, and artisans were thrown out of work. But the continuance of war conditions for the first fifteen years produced fictitious prosperity in an agricultural community, and military service provided a means of existence for superfluous labour. Probably nearer half than one-third of the British rank and file in this period were Irish. Ireland had no sympathy with Napoleon. Even Emmet in his speech from the dock denounced fiercely the usurping policy of France, and Catholic Ireland, first estranged by the Republic's war

upon religion, was even more deeply offended by Napoleon's action towards the Pope. Napoleon's Irish Brigade, formed after 1803, seems to have received few Irish recruits after its original formation from the fugitives of 1798 and of Emmet's band. Cut to pieces on a score of battle-fields, it ended by being Irish mainly in name ; whereas many English regiments were in reality largely Irish.

One significant episode during these years of war should be carefully noted. Everywhere on the Continent, Catholicism was identified with opposition to the spirit of France; and England was the strongest pillar of that opposition. As early as 1799 Pitt had conceived the idea of making the Catholic hierarchy a permanent support to British power in Ireland. He was willing to endow their Church, on condition that the British Government should be given a power of veto over the selection of bishops. The hierarchy accepted this condition. But after the Union, Pitt found it impossible to proceed with his scheme for endowment, and the project of giving official recognition to the Church, subject to this veto, was not seriously mooted till about 1808. By then Daniel O'Connell had become a power in the Catholic Committee, and he opposed it fiercely. He had against him all the English Catholics and many of the richer Irish Catholics. The British Government then enlarged their offer. In 1813 a Bill was introduced into parliament, proposing that all disabilities should be removed from Catholics, provided that the British Government should have the right to forbid the choice of any particular priest for a bishopric. The Pope was then Napoleon's prisoner, but Monsignor Quarantotti, who then managed all affairs at Rome, advised that Catholics should accept. But since the establishment of Maynooth had given an Irish training to priests, their attitude had greatly changed ; their spirit was that of the Irish Catholics, oppressed by aristocratic England, not that of continental Catholics, at war with democratic France. The bulk of the Irish clergy stood behind O'Connell ; angry demonstrations against those who did not showed that the people were determined to maintain the freedom of that Church for which they suffered. The measure, after years of agitation and despite the Pope's personal intervention, was defeated. No more devout Catholic than O'Connell ever lived ; but he laid it down at this time that he would " as soon take his politics from Constantinople as from Rome."

This stand of his cost him the support of many of the Catholic gentry, who from this time lapsed into adherence to the policy of Irish landlords. O'Connell was a landlord, but he was in the European sense a Liberal. His purpose was to make his people masters in their own house; but he realised that they had little education, and that the priesthood supplied the only natural leaders for the mass which he intended to organise and move. This first of his victories prevented the British Government from obtaining power to hamper, if not to control, the most efficacious support which O'Connell could find for the task which he had set himself. This was no less than to repeal the Union.

After the war ended, the Union was carried a step further to completion. In 1800 Ireland, as has been seen, was left with a separate financial system, because Ireland, with five millions of people, had a national debt of twenty-eight millions, while Great Britain, with eight millions, had a debt of four hundred and twenty millions. Up to the Union, Ireland had contributed steadily to the war, but the amount was decided by the Irish Parliament. After the Union this control was swept away. Irish revenue was collected as before, and local Irish expenditure was defrayed out of it; but in addition Ireland was charged with two-seventeenths of all Imperial outlay. Thus Ireland's debt increased automatically in the long struggle till it reached a total of eighty millions; and Irish revenue could not pay the interest on this and defray current local expenses. In short, the first result of the Union was to render Ireland bankrupt by committing the country to a scale of expenditure wholly beyond its means. The debts and the exchequers were therefore amalgamated. The principle laid down was that both countries should contribute to a common fund, which should be expended according to the necessities of the case, and not according to the amount of the contribution received. But Ireland had no power to decide what proportion of the money raised in Ireland should be spent there; and in point of fact the Irish expenditure was never throughout the century equal to the yield of Irish taxation; while the yearly contribution to Imperial purposes ranged from half a million up to five millions, in time of peace.

Irish taxation was not, however, raised to the English level. For the first half of the century some important taxes

imposed on Great Britain were not levied in Ireland, and to the end of the Union this was true of some petty taxes. In short, Ireland was less taxed than the predominant partner; but her taxation was not graduated according to her resources. England emerged from the Napoleonic wars in a position which made her rapidly the richest European country; Ireland, with lesser taxation, became the byword of Europe for misery. Under the Union her people went headlong to calamity.

The main fact of Irish history since the Union is that within forty-six years after the passing of the Union, the population of Ireland increased from five millions to eight and a half; and that within the next five years it was reduced by two millions, in a time of peace. Modern Europe shows no parallel to this. It should be added that from 1850 onwards the population of Ireland has steadily declined, till it is now a million less than in 1800; the population of Great Britain in the same period having increased from ten millions to forty-two. Broadly speaking, Great Britain was able to provide for and absorb into fruitful industry its own increasing population; it failed to provide for the increasing population of Ireland.

These facts must be related to their causes, which lie far back. The three confiscations of which Lord Clare spoke were accompanied by wars which, as has been seen, terribly reduced the population. At the beginning of the eighteenth century Ireland's lack of prosperity was attributed by a whole group of writers to its lack of people. Famine visited the land repeatedly when the population was small. The real cause of famine was that the workers were reduced to such a condition that they lived always from hand to mouth, and could not save. For this the system of government—above all, that of land tenure—was responsible.

Before the confiscations Ireland was a country depending almost entirely on agriculture and governed in the main by custom and tradition. The confiscations not only took away power and prosperity from the old inhabitants, but destroyed the custom of the country, which limited greatly the rights of an owner of land against the man who occupied it and worked it. The English custom, which was imposed along with the confiscations, gave absolute power to the owner of land to deal with it as he liked; to raise the rent as high as he chose, and

to evict at will even a tenant who paid his rent. This custom was strengthened by the laws of an Irish parliament in which the old inhabitants of the country had no power, and which represented almost entirely those new settlers to whom the property had been transferred.

In England also the land-owning class were in supreme power, and during the eighteenth century they revolutionised the condition of English agriculture. They made England a country of large farms; they got rid of the peasants. But the English Government, which at this period controlled the parliaments of both Great Britain and Ireland, used all its endeavours to build up manufacturing industry in Great Britain, and so provide an alternative employment for the people. Part of the method employed was to crush manufacturing industry in Ireland, and so throw the Irish people on the land as their sole resource. Further, a custom grew up in England by which the landlord was expected to contribute towards the equipment of the farms which he leased; he erected buildings and helped generally in the capital expenditure. In Ireland no such custom existed; the landlord, save in exceptional cases, simply levied rent for the use of a necessity. It was customary, and therefore not condemned, that those who had a monopoly of the land should exact, from those who had no resource but to work it, the highest price available in a competition like that for bread in a besieged town. Yet the Irish landlord parliament, when it became free of English supervision, did at once pass legislation which improved matters for the Irish agricultural population by raising the price of corn. The effect of Foster's corn laws in promoting tillage was immensely heightened by the outbreak of war in 1793, and for the next twenty-two years there was keen demand for food to supply the armies and navies.

The quickest and cheapest way in Ireland to get more land under corn was to break it up into small holdings, each man working his own with his own labour, and eagerly bidding for a plot. War prices tempted men to bid high, and war prices lasted for a whole generation; people forgot that they had not always existed. Population multiplied, because there was always the demand for small holders who would pay a rackrent, and the men who were in this position were so ill-off that they had nothing to lose by imprudence. It is a

fact of economics that the very poor most readily produce families, and those who have attained to a certain standard of comfort think twice before they multiply the mouths to feed. Also, after 1793, when the Catholics were enfranchised and every forty-shilling freeholder had a vote, landlords desired to multiply tenants, for every tenant was obliged to vote as his landlord desired, and more tenants meant more political power. In this way population was pushed up to the extreme limit of what the cultivated land could maintain while war prices continued. No provision was made for what should happen when war prices ceased. There was in Ireland no alternative means of employing labour.

We have seen that from the Revolution up to 1780, English manufactures were protected and fostered, while Irish manufactures were hampered almost to the point of prohibition. Ireland was reserved as a field for the sale of English wares. When the Irish Parliament at last got control of Ireland's industrial interests, and opportunity for their development, England's superiority was already fully established. The division of labour in manufacture had been thoroughly introduced ; factory production had replaced cottage production ; and machinery had largely superseded hand labour. Many of the inventions which revolutionised industry had been introduced before 1782 ; and although these were available for Irish manufacturers starting after that date, Ireland had neither the accumulated capital nor experience which England had acquired in three generations during which Ireland was prevented by law from developing her industries.

While the Irish Parliament lasted, such men as Foster, by no means Nationalists, were yet watchful guardians of Ireland's material interests, and knew well that her nascent industries needed support such as had been given to those of England. After the Union this care ceased. The main consideration for British statesmen was the war, and the easiest way of meeting problems of war supply was to work along established lines, and concentrate the effort of England upon manufacture, while buying from Ireland at good prices all its agricultural produce. This tendency was of course promoted by English manufacturers, who had great influence with the English Parliament, and whose jealousy even of possible rivalry from Ireland had made itself so plainly evident during the eighteenth century. Insensibly during

the first fifteen years of the nineteenth century, manufactures in Ireland, other than that of linen, dwindled ; but the pinch for employment was not felt because of the war conditions. By the time the war ended, the application of steam to machinery was general in England and scarcely existed in Ireland. It was established as a practice that Ireland's rôle in the partnership should be that of supplying food and raw material to the predominant partner. The Irish market was, however, still in some degree reserved to the Irish manufacturer. By the Act of Union, duties on import into Ireland were retained on certain articles, mainly woollen and cotton, for twenty years. As the period for abolishing or reviewing these duties approached, Irish manufacturers petitioned for their continuance ; but the English interest prevailed, and in 1824 they were wholly swept away. Only the linen industry was strong enough to maintain itself. Thus, within ten years after war ended, there was in Ireland an immense population with no resource to turn to but the land ; and the competition for holdings had pushed rents so high that it had been impossible for such holders to save money. Indeed, they scarcely saw money. They paid their rent for the most part in labour, estimated at from sixpence to eightpence a day, and half of the working days in a year were as a rule required to pay the rent for the mud cabin and the plot of land by which the man had to sustain himself and his family. His landlord had first call on his time ; he could work for himself only on the days when he was not needed elsewhere. The chief purpose of this work was to raise enough potatoes to feed his family and the pig, which was his main speculation. By the sale of it, and whatever little grain or flax he raised, he paid for clothing ; but the Irish of this class could hardly be said to be clad ; they wore rags pinned together.

Their diet was exclusively vegetarian, except that in the eighteenth century and perhaps during the continuance of the war they had milk with their potatoes. From 1820 onwards milk was beyond their means. Their diet was practically limited to one article of food, the potato, which is a bad food. They grew corn, but only to sell it ; they reared pigs, but they never ate bacon. So meagrely nourished, they were inefficient workers. When the war prices ended, the landowner and the large farmer from whom they rented

patches, found that it paid better to use the land for raising cattle than to accept labour in lieu of rent. So began the policy of clearances and the consolidation of holdings. The people who were driven out had no choice but to offer a rent for plots of waste land, and to raise potatoes for their sustenance. At best it is difficult to keep potatoes in good condition from one harvest to the next ; and there was always a period called " the meal months " when those who could afford it subsisted on stirabout. Those who could not, sowed their potatoes in spring, shut up their cabins and went out on the roads to beg till autumn, when the crop would be ready. This happened even in normal years to thousands of families. Often in such a case the man would go to England as a migratory labourer and return in autumn with the wages of his labour, generally about £3. But the potato crop is always liable to failure, and when it failed there was famine. The years 1821–22 were famine years.

There was at this time no poor law in Ireland ; the State, that is to say, undertook no obligation to prevent its citizens from dying of hunger. On the other hand, parliament approved and supported the policy of consolidating holdings, for three main reasons. One was the example of England, where large farms were the rule and more produce was got off land not superior to that in Ireland. A second was the general influence of the doctrine of *laissez faire*, which meant that economic processes should be allowed to work freely without the State's interference to prevent injury that might result to individual citizens or even to classes. A third was the prevailing view that property was the creation of law, and that law existed mainly to maintain the rights of property ; a landlord therefore must be assisted by law to do as he pleased with his own. Landlords having decided that small holdings must be replaced by large, parliament passed a number of measures to make it easier for a landlord to dispossess the small holder. Parliament did not seriously face the question how the persons so dispossessed should find a means of living ; but politicians generally held the view that redundant population was a nuisance, and should, if possible, be reduced.

All this was contrary to the custom and tradition of the Irish, whose laws did not sanction the eviction of an occupier willing to continue meeting his obligations. But under the English government of Ireland the right to evict had become

customary ; it was the menace constantly held over the head of the tenant, and the evicting landlord acted within his legal rights. Nevertheless, clearances were in many cases sheer confiscation. When land had been reclaimed or improved by the tenant's labour, a value had been added to it, which the landlord took. The tenant was not protected by his bargain, for he was in no position to bargain freely ; land was a necessity to him, and landlords had a monopoly of a necessity. Yet in the province of Ulster a separate custom existed by which the tenant on vacating his farm had a right to sell the goodwill of it and to obtain value for the improvements. This right constituted a sort of dual ownership, and the tenant's right often fetched nearly as much as the landlord's interest. In the rest of Ireland, tenants constantly endeavoured to establish this custom ; and since the competition was too severe and universal to prevent other men in the same position bidding for a farm from which a tenant was removed against his will, illegal combinations were established which sought to prevent evictions by threats either to the evicting landlord or to the replacing tenant. Clearances, in short, produced a new growth of Whiteboyism under many names.

These illegal organisations were met by repeated coercion Acts, and declarations of martial law and other exceptional legislation. Ireland was in the throes of famine, of agrarian crime, and of military repression when O'Connell launched his movement in 1821 ; yet although the main trouble was agrarian and economic, O'Connell's movement was solely concerned with political objects. Its ultimate purpose was avowedly Repeal ; but its immediate claim was that Catholics should be entitled to become members of parliament, magistrates, municipal corporations, and generally that they should have their part in the government of their own country. The question of property was not raised, nor that of endowment for religion. The movement was aimed at destroying the ascendancy's monopoly of power ; it did not attack the monopoly of property.

CHAPTER XXXIX

CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION

O'Connell founded what has been habitually called the constitutional movement for Irish freedom. This means that he disclaimed the idea of seeking to gain it by physical force. Throughout his career he repudiated the methods of the men of 1798; and in 1803 he was one of the citizens enrolled to act as special constables at the time of Emmet's rising. But although he rejected the idea of using force, he succeeded, in so far as he did succeed, by the threat of a resistance which could not be put down without war on a large scale, and still more by engendering in his people the spirit of defiance.

He may justly be called a demagogue, but he led his multitude; they obeyed him and trusted him; and under his leadership the conquered Ireland reached a unity which it had never known while unconquered. Even in 1798, when the Wexford men broke out into Kilkenny, they were treated as strangers, almost as a hostile tribe. All Catholic Ireland learnt to stand together solid behind O'Connell in the face of overwhelming military force.

His power was wholly personal. If oratory is to be judged by its effects over the minds and actions of men, he has scarcely an equal in history. His voice had such strength that it could be heard all over the greatest gatherings in the open air, and its beauty, flexibility, and range of expression were admitted by all. A wonderfully resourceful lawyer, he taught Ireland to rely on him to use law to defeat the law; he claimed that he "could drive a coach and six through any Act of Parliament." The country at large spoke of him as "the counsellor," the all-powerful advocate. With these gifts he had a genius for organisation, which worked under inconceivable difficulties. The Irish Parliament when

menaced with interference from the Volunteer Convention had passed an Act making any assembly other than parliament unlawful, if it consisted of delegates from branches of a political association. In 1814 the Catholic Board was suppressed under this Act; and the Catholic Association, launched in 1823, had to frame its constitution so that it should appear to have no representative character. It became, however, a most powerful political engine, and its framework was supplied by the priesthood. A "Catholic rent" was instituted, of a penny a month per head, to be collected in every parish by the clergy. The levy soon brought in as much as £1000 weekly.

In parliament, the question of Catholic emancipation was in a position like that of women's suffrage before the European war. Neither party would make it a party question; there was often a majority for it in the House of Commons, but no ministry would take it up, and the House of Lords steadily opposed it. Yet the famine of 1822, the growing unrest of the country, and the spread of this new movement, all fixed attention upon Ireland, and O'Connell was hopeful that emancipation would be carried in 1825; hopeful, above all, that it might seem to come with the goodwill of Irish Protestants.

But George IV., who before his accession had encouraged Catholics to look for his support, had on coming to the throne declared steady opposition to the proposal; and in 1825, when the Catholic Relief Bill came before the Lords, the Duke of York, then heir-apparent, made a violent speech against it, and declared that the agitation of the subject had driven George III. mad. This utterance loosed a violent No-Popery clamour in England, which was much heard at the general election in 1826. It got its answer in Ireland, where O'Connell called on the Catholic voters to support the candidates whom he favoured against the landlords' nominees. In Waterford, the Beresfords were beaten out of the field, though every man who voted against his landlord had to face the prospect of eviction. The priests from their pulpits preached support of the Catholic cause as necessary to eternal salvation. They were a main factor in the revolt. Catholic Ireland thus seized power which the landlords had regarded as theirs by traditional right.

Sir Robert Peel, who from the opening of his career had

been a chief opponent of the Catholic claims, now resigned from the Ministry, of which Canning was the head; and Canning was for emancipation. The Duke of Wellington, another opponent, resigned his post as commander-in-chief. Then Canning died, and Wellington became Prime Minister, with Peel leading the House of Commons; the hopes of Irish Catholics appeared to be defeated. Yet the Irish members, all Protestants, were for emancipation by two to one. In 1828 a by-election occurred in County Clare, and O'Connell himself stood against a very strong candidate, who was a supporter of the Catholic cause, but who took office in Wellington's Ministry. O'Connell carried the election, and at the bar of the House spoke against the legal prescription which denied him the right to take his seat. Enormous meetings were held all over Ireland; the whole country was organised. Wellington came to the conclusion that war was the only alternative to concession, and he yielded. 1829 marks the first stage in the progress of the Irish people—"the old inhabitants of the island," as Lord Clare called them—towards winning back, again in Lord Clare's words, "the power and the property" of their country. It ends the first chapter in the history of the legislative Union.

The name "Catholic emancipation" rightly implies the removal of a degrading disqualification imposed on Catholics as such. Since the nation was by at least four-fifths Catholic, this disqualification made the name of Union a laughing-stock. Union is only possible on a basis of equality among the constituents; and the truth was that England had attempted not Union, but absorption. The native Irish had been considered by Lord Clare, and were still considered by the majority of Englishmen, as aliens, not as fellow-citizens. There was a section of Englishmen who desired, as indeed Pitt and Cornwallis had desired, to make Union a reality; to accept the Irish frankly as a part of the United Kingdom. It was not they, however, who passed the Emancipation Act. That concession came from men whose political life had been spent in denouncing the principle; and the Act was accompanied by measures which made it plain that they yielded not to justice but to necessity. Before it passed, the Catholic Association which had carried it was suppressed by law; and it was accompanied by an Act disfranchising the forty-shilling freeholders, through whose votes the landlord power

was broken in the constituencies. The right of voting was henceforward limited to those having a ten-pound valuation.

This measure could be formally justified by the fact that the franchise established by the Irish Parliament was lower than that which prevailed in Great Britain. The real fact, however, was that, if the voting power were left as it was, O'Connell could at once have become absolute master of most Irish constituencies, and would have anticipated the position which Parnell held later—and for which he paved the way.

The public mind has grown so accustomed to seeing the whole representation of Ireland, except a part of Ulster, concentrated for a single political purpose under one leadership, that we have difficulty in realising how this looked to men of Wellington's day. O'Connell himself repeatedly declared that his personal power was excessive and even unconstitutional ; but he always contended that it rose from the circumstances of the case. He was the leader, not of a party, but of a people ; give the people its freedom, he said, and it would break into normal groups of differing opinion. The British Government, however, took the course of reducing the power which an Irish leader wielded constitutionally, and to do this they disfranchised more than half the total electorate.

They could justify their action by saying that the disfranchised electors were controlled through the priesthood, and were largely illiterate. In truth, however, the Irish priesthood acted as Irishmen, not as Catholics. Everywhere else in Europe at this period Catholicism was identified with reaction ; O'Connell in Ireland identified it with democracy. He used the power of Catholic Ireland not only to support parliamentary reform, but to secure the removal of disabilities from English dissenters, who as a body were strongly anti-Catholic in their prejudices, and from the Jews. Irish Catholicism in the nineteenth century owes its democratic character to this lay leader, and not to any divine. In binding priests and people together he did more to make Ireland religious than any missionary since St Patrick. As to the education of the voters, if they could not read or write, the reproach lies on a Government which up to 1829 had provided no general system of schools. But O'Connell had taught the electorate to think, and to feel. Every forty-shilling free-

holder who defied the worst that his landlord could do to him and voted at O'Connell's call for the removal of degrading barriers had reached a point of political education by no means common ; he had been taught to sacrifice his immediate interest for a measure that could bring nothing to his pocket.

Nor was this all. During the period up to 1825, when the Catholic Association became all-powerful, Ireland had been the home of secret societies acting through violence, using means which were often criminal to secure ends which were often just. O'Connell throughout his life preached political agitation and denounced what he called predial agitation—that is to say, illegal combination to limit the power of property owners. He was able to show later that during the years while the Catholic Association was in full sway, crimes of violence and outrage dropped almost to vanishing point. By suppressing the Catholic Association, Government did all it could to obliterate the distinction between legitimate and illegitimate agitation ; it stigmatised as criminal the combination to which it was yielding ; and it continued this policy by suppressing or attempting to suppress every form of political organisation through which O'Connell sought to utilise the concession of right which had at last been made.

The ten or twelve years which immediately followed Catholic emancipation were of vast importance in modern Irish history, because they in reality decided the fate of the legislative Union and determined that it could only be maintained by force. In parliament there was now for the first time a group which represented the old inhabitants of Ireland. That group from the first demanded repeal of the Union, and the restitution of self-government to Ireland. Repeal was made a test question at the general election, and the test was accepted by all O'Connell's following, which parliament called his "tail." But repeal was not pressed in parliament. Irish Catholics came to parliament at first with a disposition to see what parliament would do for them. The attitude of parliament was varied. Whigs, who had generally supported emancipation, considered that Irishmen had got what they asked for and should be content. Tories considered that an unworthy concession had been made to natives—that is, to people who were not British,—and were determined that it should go no farther. This was made clear

in petty but significant actions. O'Connell claimed to sit in virtue of his election before the Act was passed; parliament supported the Government of Wellington and Peel in insisting that unless he took the oath imposed at the time of his election —a formula which no Catholic could accept—he must seek re-election. Further, although all posts at the Bar except that of Lord Chancellor were now open to Catholics, Government refused to call O'Connell himself to the dignity of King's Counsel. Other Catholics, notably O'Connell's ablest supporter, Richard Sheil, were, however, admitted to this honour. But nothing serious was done to make the concession of equal rights a reality. After emancipation, as before it, all appointments in Ireland carrying power were reserved for Protestants.

Nevertheless, the Irish people had felt the power of their numbers, and a spirit of defiance was strong in them. They had hoped much, and had been promised much, as a consequence of the election of O'Connell; disappointed, they fell back on violence. An agitation against tithes which assumed the proportions of a war broke out in 1831. Large bodies of military were sent out to assist the tithe proctors in collecting what was withheld. Cattle were seized; the peasantry gathered to resist, and in one day at Newtownbarry in County Wexford twelve peasants were killed. In December of the same year eleven police were killed in an affray at Carrickshock. Similar encounters took place at intervals until December 1834, when a miniature battle at Rath Cormack in Cork resulted in twelve deaths and a long list of woundings; but on the whole, it proved impossible to collect tithes.

Nor was this the only source of trouble. Clearances were proceeding on the land from 1820 onwards, but up till 1829 every landlord had an interest in retaining many tenants, since their votes were at his command and added to his power and importance. When the forty-shilling freeholders revolted, evictions began. When these freeholders ceased to have votes, the motive for retaining them as tenants disappeared altogether, and clearances quickened; the number of the destitute increased.

O'Connell in parliament repudiated crime, but he fully adopted and supported the resistance to tithes. He desired that all existing incumbents should be fully compensated, but tithe itself absolutely abolished. He advocated disestablishment of the Established Church and redistribution

of its revenues as property of the nation—following the precedents set in England, Germany, and France. Ultimately in 1838 tithe was transformed into a charge upon the landlords and was collected in the shape of rent. The injustice remained in principle, but the cause of friction was removed.

In this matter the House of Lords successfully resisted attempts made by Whig ministers to carry a measure which, by applying at least part of the tithe funds to national purposes, would have met the demands which O'Connell made in the name of Ireland. From the time when an Irish Nationalist party appeared in the House of Commons, the House of Lords took up a special attitude towards it. If a Bill relating to Great Britain was shown to have overwhelming popular support, the Lords never pushed their resistance to its principles to the utmost. But when an Irish measure was earnestly sought by the majority of the Irish people, a suspicion of danger attached to it, and the will of the Irish people was on general grounds a will which the hereditary House felt themselves fully authorised, if not indeed in duty bound, to resist.

Nevertheless, from the time when Irish members, representing undeniably the Catholic Irish people, began to be heard at Westminster, a certain effect was visible. Up to this date special legislation for Ireland had been almost confined to coercion bills. From the passing of the Union onwards a series of Acts had armed the executive in Ireland with power which in England it did not possess. The Habeas Corpus Act was repeatedly suspended. Almost the only constructive measure of statesmanship was the establishment by Sir Robert in 1814 of the Irish constabulary; their nickname, "peelers," recalls his authorship. But from 1830 onwards there was a beginning of what came to be called remedial legislation. This meant, not the laws for which Ireland asked, but the laws which Englishmen thought would be good for Ireland.

The first of these was a belated attempt to provide Ireland with a national system of education. On this matter O'Connell shared the views of all those who send their sons to English public schools. He desired that the children of Irish parents should be taught in schools where the religion professed by their parents would be part of the regular course of instruction; where the atmosphere, in a religious sense, would be

the same as that of their homes. He desired that provision should be made on these lines for the teaching, whether of Catholics, Protestants, or Presbyterians. Broadly speaking, this was the wish of Ireland. English statesmen, however, conceived a project for Ireland of abolishing religious distinctions in youth; and they planned a system by which in every Irish school secular subjects would be taught to all denominations in common, while a period was provided for separate religious instruction. At first both O'Connell and the Catholic hierarchy accepted what was offered; but inevitable difficulties presented themselves in working. The education of the country was entrusted to a Board composed in equal parts of Catholics and Protestants, and agreement was only possible by adopting a course to which neither party would object. The result was that since modern history could not be taught without touching on theological controversy, modern history was scarcely taught at all; and since Irish history could not be taught without the reproach of favouring one side or the other, the history of Ireland was completely excluded from Irish schools. The result has been a singularly uninspiring course of education; while the advantage of mingling sects in the schools has completely been lost. Through the system of entrusting each school to a manager, as a rule the clergyman of the parish, this nominally undenominational system became in time the most rigidly divided upon denominational lines.

Nevertheless there was henceforward a provision made at the public expense for educating the Irish poor. Till O'Connell's election nothing of the kind had been done. The measure came from the Whigs, to whom he gave general support, and who indeed could not have carried the great English Reform Bill of 1832 without his assistance. But he was bitterly disappointed in the results of Reform; the Whigs proved as drastic in their measures of coercion as ever the Tories had been. Finally, however, largely through the votes of O'Connell and his party, Lord Grey was driven to resign his leadership, and under Lord Melbourne as Prime Minister an Irish administration was formed in 1835 which frankly allied itself with O'Connell, and sought to govern Ireland by his help—much on the same principle as Henry VII. applied to the great Earl of Kildare. O'Connell was offered high legal preferment, but declined; he would have taken office if it had been of a kind to give him real control in Irish affairs;

but the prejudices of William IV. were too great to accept this agitator as Attorney-General, and he was as well content to remain outside. Since his election, when he announced his determination to devote himself entirely to public affairs, an O'Connell tribute had been raised which averaged nearly £20,000 a year. This and the " Catholic rent " were the forerunners of all Irish party funds. O'Connell used the money at his own discretion ; but he had enormous charges to meet in contesting elections and election petitions for himself and his following.

It can be said that in 1835 O'Connell frankly decided to give the Union a chance. He declared his belief that except through an Irish parliament the demands of Ireland for justice and even for her necessities would never be met ; but he was willing to be proved in error. Although a Nationalist by instinct, he was not one, at least in the modern sense, by conviction. What he sought was the rights of Irishmen as men ; the rights of Ireland as a separate nation did not greatly concern him.

New influences, however, were at work which O'Connell's own success strengthened, yet which he himself did not greatly feel. He had been brought up in the eighteenth century, when there were only two ideals of liberty presented to a man of his type : the ideals of the French Revolution and the ideals of British freedom. Like his countryman Burke, he abhorred France and clove to England. Neither of these ideals, the English or the French, took much account of nationalism, and in the Napoleonic struggle France and England alike drifted further into imperialism. In reaction from that tendency, came the wave of nationalism which swept over Europe. The poet Thomas Moore, Emmet's college friend, had begun to publish his *Irish Melodies* within five years after Emmet's death, and their theme was not the wrongs of Irishmen, but of Ireland—the Ireland that native poets had sung of in Gaelic during the period of the penal laws, and that inspired the airs which Moore adapted. Moore rather than O'Connell stamped upon the movement for Irish freedom in the nineteenth century its romantic character. Moore certainly before O'Connell made the world realise that Ireland was no people of colonists, but a mother nation, with roots far back in the past. O'Connell's achievement, however, contributed to feed this feeling. The struggle to undo

Napoleon's imperial annexations, and the dynastic and military arrangements by which, after Napoleon's defeat, the Holy Alliance parcelled out Europe, was afoot in many lands when O'Connell launched his campaign; and the effort of a Catholic people against a Protestant power fixed the attention of all Catholic lands. Ireland's cause was lifted from obscurity till it ranked with that of Poland and Italy.

Yet O'Connell was never a separatist; he took every occasion to show attachment to the British Crown. When George IV. visited Ireland in 1821 O'Connell organised a welcome for him, which seemed to contemporaries fulsome, and which certainly was ill requited. Yet when Queen Victoria came to the throne, O'Connell, both in private and public, reiterated professions of affection; and there is no doubt that they were sincere. No man was ever more fully representative of his people than this great tribune; he was justly called the incarnation of a race; and it cannot be doubted that the Ireland of his day could have been won by evidence that the parliament and Government of the United Kingdom were willing to deal with the people of Ireland as they dealt with the people of England.

In judging the history of that Irish administration under Lord Mulgrave as Viceroy, which O'Connell supported, it should be remembered that the Whig ministry had to see all their attempts at legislation altered or rejected by the hereditary House. They attempted to carry a measure which would give all Ireland a share in the tithes; the Lords insisted that it should go solely to the Protestant establishment, over and above the other large revenues possessed by that Church. Again, they had to deal with the question of corporations, membership of which was still exclusively limited to Protestants. Catholics were legally eligible, but the Protestant corporations had the right of election, and limited it to their own persuasion. Owing to the attitude of the Lords, this matter was dealt with, not according to the will of the Irish electorate, nor even according to that of the ministry, but in effect through a coalition of British parties. Irish corporations were for the most part swept out of existence, instead of being reformed. Only ten were left—in a country where municipal life, always weak, needed to be fostered. The elective principle was introduced, but the qualification of a voter was put much higher than in England. Nevertheless,

after the Mulgrave administration it was possible for a Catholic to become mayor of an Irish town ; it had not been so since the seventeenth century.

Finally, Ireland was a country in which a terrible proportion of the population lived always on the verge of famine ; and up to this period the State had made no provision to prevent its citizens from dying of hunger. A Poor Law was passed. In this instance the blame for its imperfection should rest with the Government rather than with the House of Lords. A strong Irish Committee was appointed in 1833, which after three years reported that the workhouse system recently established in England was wholly unsuited to the case of Ireland. The English problem was to deal with men who would not work ; the Irish, to provide for masses who could find no regular employment even for a few pence a day. The Committee recommended therefore that the main aim of the Poor Law should be to provide work for the workless ; supplementing this by hospitals and by the provision of outdoor relief. The Government, however, preferred to adhere to the English model, as recommended by an English official after six weeks' visit to Ireland. The Bill framed by the official was opposed by Irishmen of all parties, but became law. The Poor Law, as the English Government passed it, was in practice an encouragement to the policy of eviction and clearances ; the landlord could at least say to himself that machinery existed for preventing the evicted from starving. It made no effort to prevent the poor from being driven to the workhouse.

In short, then, the Whig Governments which were in power from 1831 onwards refused to consider the question of re-establishing an Irish parliament to deal with Irish affairs ; but they dealt with the most urgent problems—tithes, education, municipal reform, and poor law. All this legislation was framed in accordance with English and in opposition to Irish ideas. Yet there was legislation. Also, from 1835 onwards the character of Irish administration altered. A certain degree of effect was given to the principle of emancipation. Catholics were chosen for office and administrative posts, and O'Connell was consulted in the choice. This was so novel a proceeding that Government was accused of appointing Catholics exclusively—though in 1839 it was shown that in every branch the majority of appointments had been

Protestant. In short, a resolute stand was made to treat Catholics and Protestants as equal before the law; and most of the credit for this belongs to Thomas Drummond, who, as Under Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant, was head of the Irish Civil Service. Drummond used the police and military to put down Orange disorder in the north and Ribbonmen in the south. He stopped the practice of challenging, by which Government lawyers were accustomed to exclude all Catholics from jury panels. In reorganising the police force, he recruited Catholics freely, and he prohibited a policeman from being a member of a secret society, which included the Orange Order. But history will always remember him by one utterance addressed to the Tipperary magistrates concerning the state of that county, in which some twenty thousand persons had been cleared from their holdings within a space of five years, and thrown upon the world at a time when there was no Poor Law. He complained that these ejectments necessarily led to crime and to sympathy with crime.

"Property has its duties as well as its rights," he observed; "to the neglect of these duties in times past is mainly to be ascribed that diseased state of society in which such crimes take their rise; and it is not in the enactment or enforcement of statutes of extraordinary severity, but chiefly in the better and more faithful performance of their duties and the more enlightened and humane exercise of their rights, that a permanent remedy for such disorders is to be sought."

The nobleman to whom this letter was addressed endeavoured to suppress it on the ground that this passage would be demoralising to the public mind. It is the keynote of Drummond's policy, and more than anything else explains why this official, who died at his post after a brief tenure of office, received a great public funeral in Dublin and has a statue in the City Hall. The policy did not survive the administration which Drummond served, and O'Connell's experiment of giving the Union a fair trial ended in the failure which he had predicted.

By 1840 it was clear that O'Connell's hold on the popular interest was weakening. The tribute fell off. The people desired only one policy, and that was repeal of the Union. To that O'Connell now devoted his whole energy, and the whole complexion of Irish politics were changed. But O'Connell's mind on this matter was never wholly clear.

His belief was that repeal could be won by a union of Protestant and Catholic support in Ireland such as had carried emancipation ; and when in 1830 he made Repeal a test question at elections he hoped for this. With this end in view, he worked and agitated in Ireland, keeping the question back in parliament, where he did not wish to prejudice its chance by a crushing defeat. But his hand was forced, and in 1834 he submitted for the first time a Repeal motion to the House of Commons ; only to elicit flat refusal from Whigs and Tories alike. He found too that in Ireland the Protestant gentry who had supported emancipation would go no further, while many of the richer Catholics frankly accepted the Union. In the north, where Wolfe Tone had found his strongest backing, the situation was entirely changed. After the Union, Castlereagh had gone far to conciliate the Presbyterians by increasing the *Regium Donum*, a subsidy to their Church. There remained in their body a strong Liberal element, but it was counterbalanced and finally defeated by one champion. Dr Cooke, a Presbyterian divine, had platform gifts almost on the level of O'Connell's, and he converted Protestant Ulster to vehement support of the Union as the sure defence against Popery. O'Connell made one attempt to carry his campaign into Belfast, but never repeated it. Protestant Repealers in his day, like Protestant Home Rulers in a latter period, were rare specimens. Repeal came more and more to be simply an attempt of the older race and the older creed to secure control of the country in which they were still the vast majority. The support which they gained from the minority was only that of few and exceptional individuals. Yet from this small number came a succession of leaders who were accepted and followed with enthusiasm by the Catholic masses. Catholic Ireland always justly prided itself on its willingness to entrust such power and position as it could bestow in the national movement to any Irishman, without regard to his religion. It recognised also generously that any Irish Protestant who acted against the English interest was probably acting against his own interest ; and it was the more ready to trust such men.

CHAPTER XL

THE REPEAL MOVEMENT. YOUNG IRELAND AND THE FAMINE

O'Connell had pledged himself that while the Whig Government's attempt to give Ireland satisfaction under the Union was on trial, there should be no agitation for Repeal. His compact may he held to have ended in 1839, when he founded a society called the Precursors of Repeal. In 1840 the Repeal Association replaced it; yet progress was slow, and the movement, wholly one man's work, was virtually suspended for a year from November 1841. The Municipal Corporations Act having at last been passed, O'Connell was chosen as the first Catholic Lord Mayor of Dublin since the time of William III. While in office he devoted himself entirely to the duties of his post, desirous to conciliate the good opinion of Protestant business men; and on leaving office he established a practice which was followed for over forty years, that the post should be alternately conferred on a Protestant and a Catholic. In the civic chair he eschewed politics; but on vacating it he decided to utilise this new platform. At a meeting of the Corporation held on 21st February 1843, he moved a resolution affirming the right of Ireland to her own parliament. There was a debate extending over three days, and the opposition was led by a young Protestant barrister, Isaac Butt—afterwards leader of the Home Rule party. This proceeding fixed public attention; the "Repeal Rent" increased nearly tenfold, and a new building, "Conciliation Hall," was founded to accommodate the meetings of the Association, which now became like a great public department.

All this was in the main O'Connell's personal achievement; but a new force had appeared. In October 1842 the *Nation* newspaper was founded by Charles Gavan Duffy, a young Catholic barrister, with whom was associated Thomas Davis, a Protestant from Cork, who had made his studies in Trinity

College. The third of the original founders, John Blake Dillon, father of a more famous son, was a Catholic, as were also Thomas d'Arcy Magee and Thomas Francis Meagher. John Mitchel, the ablest writer of the group, was a Unitarian from County Down; John Martin, his nearest friend, a Presbyterian. All this group of young men shared the traditional veneration for O'Connell, but they represented a different spirit. He was a man of the eighteenth century, they of the nineteenth. Revolution meant to him what it meant to Edmund Burke; to them, what it meant to Byron and Shelley. Liberty to him meant freedom for the individual Irishman; to them it meant freedom for the Irish nation. He had found his people helots, and was mainly concerned to win for them equal citizenship; these younger men were part of the movement that was afoot to claim rights not for the Greeks but for Greece, not for the Belgians but for Belgium. He was a great advocate, bent on the appeal to practical interests; they were men of letters, addressing themselves to the literary intelligence of Ireland. O'Connell had asked Ireland to let him think for it; they were determined to make Irishmen think for themselves.

The new appeal was amazing in its success; the *Nation* was devoured, each copy passed from hand to hand over a circle of readers. It was the intellectual complement to Moore's evocation of the national spirit; but it preached a definite lesson, that Ireland should not only feel but act. Irish history, which had lapsed from memory, was set out in vigorous language; Irish legends and incidents were flung into ballads which became the watchwords and rallying cries of their generation. At the outset the young men's support of O'Connell was complete, yet not uncritical; and he did not welcome criticism. His personality had made him, without office, one of the great figures in Europe; the Young Irelanders, as they came to be called, were a group of unknown men.

Yet he had no cause for jealousy; in the year 1843 he occupied the whole stage. A series of great demonstrations was organised to be held all over Ireland, county by county. Their character was profoundly affected by an utterance drawn from Sir Robert Peel. "I am prepared to make the declaration which was made by my predecessor, Lord Althorp, that deprecating as I do all war, but, above all, civil war, yet there is no alternative which I do not think preferable to the

dismemberment of this empire." Thus, to propose that parliament should rescind an Act which parliament had passed by corruption was laid down by Whig and Tory alike to be a challenge to war.

O'Connell's immediate answer was that England dare not begin war to prevent Ireland's attempting to petition for the redressing by constitutional means of a great wrong. Thus menace replied to menace. The meetings proceeded, and Government took no steps to prevent them, although enormous multitudes assembled. One man's work at this time served O'Connell prodigiously. Shortly before the founding of the Repeal Association, an eloquent priest had begun a crusade for temperance. By 1843 Father Mathew's pledge had been taken by millions; the monster meetings were attended by sober men, and there was no disorder.

Yet an Irish peer was deprived of the commission of the peace for attending these meetings, and in protest a number of the gentry resigned their magistracy. Among them was William Smith O'Brien, member for County Clare, a representative of the family that had ruled Thomond. The agitation continued, and in parliament Smith O'Brien moved for a committee to inquire into the redress of Irish grievances. He avowed that his hope had been for a complete and real Union; but experience had taught him that the united parliament had neither the knowledge nor the will to meet Ireland's needs. After a long debate the motion for inquiry was rejected; before this, at Mallow on 11th June, O'Connell had used language which, literally taken, meant that Ireland would resist an attack. It was naturally so construed. At Tara he addressed an assemblage which is said to have been not less than half a million. There were no arms; but O'Connell could summon and dismiss at any point the human material of a vast army. The final and closing demonstration was fixed for Sunday, 8th October, on the shore by Clontarf, where Brian expelled the Danes. On the Friday it was stated that Government would proclaim the meeting; the actual proclamation was delayed till Saturday afternoon, but O'Connell had made up his mind and took measures instantly; horsemen were sent in all directions to head back the gathering crowds. On the Sunday morning cavalry and artillery were in positions at Clontarf, but no crowd assembled. Wellington had 35,000 men in Ireland, and was determined not to shrink

a second time from the prospect of war, and probably desired to inflict a lesson.

This was the turning-point in the agitation for Repeal. Ireland was henceforward inevitably divided between those who advocated and those who rejected the appeal to physical force.

Nationalists who blame O'Connell for his yielding lay stress on the fact that at this moment the population of Ireland was nearly half that of Great Britain, eight and a half millions to eighteen ; that nearly half the army's rank and file consisted of Irish Catholics ; and that although Ireland was neither armed nor disciplined in a military sense, the people were full of spirit and were accustomed to move in great united bodies ; while the difference between a musket and fowling-piece of that day was slight. The advantage given by modern armament to a fully equipped force against any irregular levy did not then exist. War was much the same as it had been in 1798, when the Wexford pikemen gave a good account of themselves against regular troops.

All this is true. But in 1798 England had a European war on her hands ; in 1843 she had no active enemy. French Liberals under the government of Louis Philippe expressed their sympathy with Ireland ; so did even the President of the American Republic ; yet few will believe that their sympathy would have led to a declaration of war.

The essential fact, however, is that in 1843 English public opinion would have supported a British Government in any measures taken to repress rebellion in Ireland. No-Popery feeling then ran very high. Nor can there be any serious doubt that England's organised power was sufficient to crush out the resistance of a people who had neither military equipment or organisation. O'Connell spared Ireland a butchery.

It is more just to argue, as does Gavan Duffy, that unless he was prepared to face this consequence he should have avoided language which led the people to count on success from a display of the power of numbers. In that case the movement for Repeal could neither have been so spectacular nor so impressive, nor could it have taken such hold on the public imagination. Or, again, he might have anticipated Wellington's action and made preparation to fight if necessary. In that case, beyond doubt, Government's interference would

have come much sooner. As it is, there is no doubt of what he actually intended; it was to repeat his triumph of 1829 by offering the same alternative of civil war. This time, however, he miscalculated; Government were prepared to face the alternative; and he was forced to a disastrous retreat.

Peel and Wellington pressed their advantage; an indictment for criminal conspiracy was brought against O'Connell and his principal associates, and many others. But the attack was pushed too hard. Government's agents in selecting their jury first tampered with the panel of names from which it should be chosen and then in court objected to all Catholics. O'Connell and the other accused were tried before a jury exclusively of Protestants and by a partisan judge. The proceedings, which lasted twenty-four days, attracted the world's attention and brought to O'Connell's side much sympathy even from Englishmen, while at home he gained new support. Smith O'Brien now definitely joined the Repeal Association, and after the foreseen conviction he stepped into O'Connell's place as acting leader. This meant much to Ireland. The O'Briens of Thomond by their early conversion to Protestantism had escaped the fate of other ancient ruling families: Ireland regarded Smith O'Brien, and Smith O'Brien regarded himself, as the hereditary representative of Brian Boru. He was an able, cultivated gentleman, largely imbued with the ideas of Whig politics, but racial pride was strong in him, and he had a fierce resentment of injustice.

Finally, by what seemed a desperate expedient, the case was brought on appeal to the House of Lords. The supreme tribunal reversed the verdict; O'Connell and the rest were set free on a writ of error. Lord Denman's phrase in giving judgment has never been forgotten. Trial by jury in such conditions as had been imposed in Dublin, he said, could be only "a mockery, a delusion, and a snare."

This was a staggering blow to the Government. Disraeli has said that Peel never recovered from it. But the situation that had been created by the monster meetings remained. O'Connell's display of physical force—even though unarmed—and his recoil from the ultimate appeal to force left a division between him and Young Ireland. His own disposition was to fall back on parliamentary action and seek to obtain the

detailed measures of reform which Government were now certain to offer. Young Ireland inclined rather to teach Ireland to rely on its own power. Collision became marked when a movement among Protestants towards a middle policy of Federalism declared itself. This was held by the Young Ireland party to aim at very insufficient powers of self-government for Ireland, and they opposed it on its merits; but Davis did not repudiate the idea of advancing towards his goal along these lines. He, like O'Connell, was prepared to sacrifice much of his abstract preferences for a co-operation that could unite the discordant elements in Ireland. But when O'Connell showed a disposition to adopt the Federal idea the Young Irelanders at once attacked him. They held, probably with wisdom, that O'Connell's abandonment of Repeal would discourage the bulk of the nation, while his patronage of the new plan would compromise its chance of gaining ground among Protestants.

In the result O'Connell contemptuously repudiated what was then called Federalism, but later came to be known as Home Rule. It should be noted that at this period the various developments of self-government in the British dominions had scarcely begun. For the moment, the only result of this passing controversy was to perplex Ireland and to darken the relations between the old leader and the young men.

These were still worsened by a new measure, honestly meant. Peel had already defied the No-Popery clamours by increasing the endowment of Maynooth; he now attempted to provide for the higher education of Ireland in general, and put forward a plan of three State-endowed colleges at Belfast, Galway, and Cork. The State retained in its own hand the appointment of all professors, and refused to make provision for any theological teaching; but it expressly conceded the right to endow theological chairs and courses by private gift. Young Ireland supported the scheme. But a violent attack was made by English Churchmen on what they called "Godless colleges," and O'Connell fell in with this cry. In parliament he and his followers opposed a Bill which they might have amended; yet the measure was passed; and for some time the official attitude of the Catholic Church in Ireland was undecided; later, it hardened into direct condemnation. A majority of the Irish Catholics who could afford university

training for their sons refused to send them to the Queen's Colleges, as the new institutions were called, or to Dublin University. Yet Catholics in small numbers went to both without any ascertained impairing of their faith or fettering of their political principles. For sixty years Ireland lost incalculably by this self-imposed privation.

O'Connell must be held largely accountable for the extreme timidity of Irish Catholics in matters of education. Following him, they have allowed to their clergy a completeness of control in this field which has not been conceded by any other modern democracy. It should be noted, however, that at this time a very active propaganda was being set on foot for the conversion of the Irish poor to Protestantism, which did not shrink from utilising even famine as an agent of conversion. Fear of this influence bred a suspicion and anxiety in the native Irish which made them shun with little reservation whatever their clergy declared perilous to faith.

But in other political matters O'Connell showed in old age as in youth a complete disregard of clerical authority. Peel's Government attempted, through the unavowed intervention of an English Catholic, to move the Pope to interfere in Irish politics. Austria for her own ends supported England; and a letter was despatched from the Vatican warning the Irish priests against mixing themselves too closely in politics. O'Connell, on hearing rumour of this, openly warned the Irish prelates against an attempt to interfere with Ireland's struggle for liberty; and a majority of the bishops continued to take part as before in the agitation for Repeal.

In the close of 1845 Thomas Davis died, and the Young Ireland party lost its most generous spirit and most commanding personality. Mitchel and Meagher, who at this time came actively into the movement, were of less conciliatory temper. There was a cleavage between O'Connell, whose anxiety was for immediate measures of relief, and the section who demanded Repeal and nothing else.

Meanwhile disaster hung over the country. In the autumn of 1845 potato blight appeared with dreadful intensity all over northern Europe; but only in Ireland three-fourths of the people were dependent for life on this crop. Famine was at once foreseen, and the harvest of that year was in all other respects abundant; Ireland was full of food. O'Connell at a public meeting urged limitation, and other speakers total

prohibition, of the export of grain. There can be no doubt that a native government in a food-exporting country would have stopped the export of food when famine became imminent. In such a case siege conditions prevail. But even if the export of corn and meat had been stopped, the problem in Ireland was not solved. The majority of the Irish people could not afford to buy corn, much less meat, or for that matter any food. They raised the more expensive kinds of food to pay their rents and they lived on the cheapest, which they produced for themselves. If they could not sell their produce, they could not pay their rents. Government could only intervene to prevent famine by a general interference with the rights of property. They might indeed have safeguarded these rights by compensating the landlords; but none of this could be accomplished without violating what were then held to be absolute laws of political economy, which forbade any interference from the State with the free play of economic forces. According to this view, the State had no more right or duty to protect Irish tenants from the consequences of an improvident bargain than to rescue an ill-judging merchant from bankruptcy. A certain obligation to prevent citizens from dying by famine had come to be admitted; but it was met by the Poor Law with its provision of workhouses. Any supplement to this was for charity, not for statesmanship.

It is certainly true that the Government, although it foresaw a prospect of famine, did not anticipate the extent of the disaster or its long continuance; the failure recurred for five years. But they were incredibily careless of warnings. A series of reports from Commissions had laid Ireland's condition before them. In 1836, Drummond, writing to advocate the undertaking of State railways, classified the population into four groups: a northern, better lodged, clothed, and fed than the others, in which wages averaged a shilling a day and the food was meal, potatoes, and milk; a southern, with wages averaging eightpence, and food consisting of potatoes and milk only; a midland group, much the same as the south; and a western, with a wage average of sixpence, and potatoes generally without milk. The Report of the Poor Law Commission of the same date estimated the number of persons in Ireland "out of work and in distress during thirty weeks of the year" at 585,000, with 1,800,000 dependents—a total of more than two and a quarter millions. Report after report

had made it plain that vast numbers had no resource but to beg from the time when their crop of potatoes was finished until the next was ready to be dug. All these warnings had been emphasised and confirmed in this very year 1845 by the Report of a Commission of landlords appointed, under the presidency of Lord Devon, to inquire into the extent and cause of Irish distress. Finally, extensive failures of the potato crop had been sufficiently frequent to force on any Government, if it considered the facts, the appalling risks run where so vast a population was so dependent on this sole article of food.

Public attention at this time in England was, however, busy with the question of Free Trade or Protection. Peel had decided to repeal the Corn Laws, and this measure undoubtedly promised England, whose people were now mostly artisans, cheaper and plentier food. It was argued that it was also the best remedy for Irish famine. Ireland, however, had corn to sell, and had no money to buy corn. Moreover, British ministers, who were in charge of Irish interests, had withdrawn the protection which maintained Irish industries in existence; the argument justifying this had always been that England was specially adapted to manufacture, and could compensate Ireland by offering a protected market for Irish corn. The relation thus established had undoubtedly created a vast population in Ireland depending on the continuance of tillage; and these people were now threatened with unemployment by the very law proposed to bring them relief. Special legislation was needed to meet this difficulty. The only special measure passed for Ireland was a coercion Act which decreed that in a proclaimed district any man found out of his house between sunset and sunrise was liable to transportation for fourteen years.

In 1846 a general election brought back the Whigs under Lord John Russell, and O'Connell definitely renewed the alliance of earlier years, without insisting on Repeal. Irish members who accepted office were allowed to be re-elected without opposition from him. This raised fierce anger among the young men; and the discussions which followed in Conciliation Hall raised the question of what lines of action were open to Ireland. In the course of them O'Connell pronounced his dictum that "the greatest political advantages are not worth one drop of human blood."

This led inevitably to controversy, in which, no less inevitably, the case for physical force began to be made. Those who opposed O'Connell's view held that in this way he lowered the national standard of right, which should include that of resistance to oppression; they considered also that in sanctioning the acceptance of Government places and preferments by his followers, and even by his kindred, he impaired the moral strength of his movement. The end of this controversy was a secession from Conciliation Hall, in which Smith O'Brien, whose position had originally been less advanced than O'Connell's, sided with the Young Irelanders.

One speech in the debate before the final break had a passage which gained for its speaker the name "Meagher of the Sword." "Be it for the defence, or be it for the assertion, of a nation's liberty, I look upon the sword as a sacred weapon," and the speaker invoked the memory of armed resistance in the Tyrol, in America, and in Belgium. This was the outlook of the newer generation.

Attempts at reconcilement only produced worse controversy. Nationalist Ireland's first great political movement to destroy the Union had ended in Nationalist Ireland's first great split. While O'Connell's partisans and the Young Irelanders were engaged in reviling each other, famine fastened its grip on the land. The blight of 1845 had swept away half the potato crop; in 1846 no potatoes at all were saved. When winter came the people were dying by multitudes. In parts of the west many lay unburied; where burial was given, a coffin with sliding sides carried the corpse to the grave, when the slide was drawn and the body dropped in. In the face of this horror there was an attempt at national union; a meeting of seven hundred magistrates and gentry from all counties assembled in Dublin. Both O'Connell and Smith O'Brien took part in this gathering, from which much was expected; but it led nowhere. Decisive action could be taken only in parliament, and the meeting had agreed that all Irish members should act as one group; yet once they reached Westminster, men fell apart into their old parties. O'Connell, who might in his strength have made a rallying point, was now broken down by age and disease. In the spring of this evil year 1847, he left London on a pilgrimage to Rome; powerless to help, he sought the central shrine of his religion with prayer for himself and for his people, whose groans were in his ears.

Death met him by the way; he expired at Genoa. He had lived too long either for his own peace or the good of his country.

The history of these last years of his life has been written by his opponents, and Ireland has made heroes of them all. Yet until recently Ireland has always instinctively recognised, as did the Young Irelanders themselves, that O'Connell was a giant among them. He achieved the first great step in Ireland's progress to a reconquest of the powers and property which had been taken from the native race. They achieved nothing positive; if it can be said with truth that they revived and maintained the national spirit, it is not less true that what they revived he had first created. The nation which he rallied and formed into a force was not the community that won freedom in 1782 or lost it in 1800: it was the nation that was held in subjection by that community. Having achieved the first step, emancipation, O'Connell's mind swung between two courses—whether to press on to the final goal, disregarding all minor aims, or to gain, step by step, control of the power and property of Ireland for its people. If indecision is charged against him, it must be remembered that he was travelling an untrodden road; that even his mistakes had value for his successors, and that at least he refused to lead Ireland into a blood-bath. It is chimerical to believe that O'Connell could have gained in 1843 what was won in 1921 as part of the aftermath of Europe's greatest war, and after Ireland had long possessed many decisive points of vantage which in 1843 were still held against her. In truth, in 1843 neither O'Connell nor those who later separated from him had yet realised along what track lay Ireland's one possible line of advance.

But no Irishman who between 1845 and 1848 had even the possibility of power can be cleared of responsibility for the tragedy of the famine. In face of such a catastrophe, even animals waive their feuds, and Ireland was torn with strife when unity should have been achieved, if only for the moment. It is part of the tragedy that O'Connell's personality largely contributed to this evil. In these last years, after the portentous exertions of his life, he was mentally and physically worn out, but his name had still more power than any other Irishman's full personality; and the authority of his name was wielded by petty persons, often in his absence. He was

in no case to take control at this supreme moment, yet he retained enough prestige to make it impossible that any other should do so. Even his end, coming when it did, intensified the divisions in Ireland. Those Nationalists who had opposed him were accused of having caused his death, and the country in many ways showed violent hostility to the best brains that were then at its service. At a general election which took place in this year, the Confederates, as those who had seceded were now called, could not return a single member.

In 1847 the group who followed Smith O'Brien, and whose organ was the *Nation*, looked no farther than Repeal, and contemplated only constitutional means to their end. O'Brien was still hopeful of bringing in the Protestant gentry, who were naturally discontented with a rule under which their countrymen starved by thousands every week. Suddenly, however, a new policy came into view. It was propounded by John Fintan Lalor, son of a large farmer in Queen's County who was said to have launched the tithe war. The younger Lalor was deformed, and had the savage intensity of mind which often goes with deformity. He repudiated Repeal as an end, not only because he preferred complete national independence, but because this purely political aim obscured the true issue. "My object is to repeal the conquest. . . . The absolute ownership of the lands of Ireland is vested of right in the people of Ireland." For Repeal the peasant would not fight, Lalor held; but the ownership of the land which he tilled offered a very different inducement. Here was a driving force which could carry Repeal in its train, as a railway engine drags the carriages. He advocated a general organised refusal to pay rent.

These views were unlikely to please Smith O'Brien, a landlord and an aristocrat; still less likely to conciliate the Protestant gentry. But John Mitchel adopted them, yet with a difference. Instead of refusal to pay rent, he proposed resistance to the poor rate—in the middle of the famine. On this issue, he parted company with Duffy and the *Nation*; there was a new split, while famine-stricken people were dying, or flying from a land where pestilence now raged as well as famine. A hundred thousand Irish left Ireland this year for Canada; six thousand died on the passage, ten thousand more at the place of landing or in hospitals.

In 1848 came the news of the French Revolution, and of the risings which it provoked throughout Europe, and which had the sympathy of all England. Lord Palmerston even gave the support of British diplomacy to the Sicilians in their demand for an independent constitution under the kingdom of Naples. The infection of the time was tremendous, and it swept over all Nationalist Ireland. Smith O'Brien was carried away into accepting the possibility of success by sudden revolt; but his projects still did not go beyond a renewed demand for Repeal, supported by that union of Irishmen which the country now demanded, and which was to some degree brought about. Mitchel, however, in his new paper, *The United Irishman*, clamoured for open revolution and an Irish Republic.

The Whig Government, embarrassed by its declarations in regard to other countries, allowed rebellion to be openly advocated. It knew, however, that neither arms nor organisation nor any definite plan existed among the various sections of the disaffected. O'Brien and Meagher made their way to France and were received by the Republican Government—only to be told by Lamartine that France must regard Ireland as a domestic question for England. This was a set-back; but the sudden and successful revolutions in Vienna and in Germany quickened the sense that in this year anything might happen. In England, the Chartist agitation menaced an English revolution. Steps were taken to form a National Council of Ireland and organise a National Guard.

Government, however, strengthened its garrison throughout Ireland, and armed its supporters; Trinity College became a fortress. Prosecution for sedition was launched against O'Brien and Meagher, but the juries disagreed. Then Mitchel's turn came, and this time the jury was one carefully packed, as had been O'Connell's in 1843. Mitchel was convicted and sentenced to transportation for twenty years. It was expected that an attempt would be made to rescue him, but the decision taken was that such a step would launch prematurely the rising that was now definitely in preparation. Next, Duffy and others were arrested. Meagher, when taken in Waterford, was obliged to advise a vast crowd not to seek to release him; ships of war in the river commanded the streets at point-blank range. He was released on bail. The Whig Government throughout all this period avoided all

measures which might have driven the people to feel, as in 1798, that resistance was less dangerous than remaining in their homes. An Act for the surrender of arms had, however, been passed earlier in the year ; in July the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, and any man might at any moment be imprisoned. This forced the hand of the conspiracy, and it was decided to rise instead of waiting to be taken. Dillon, with Meagher, went down to Wexford and joined Smith O'Brien, who had been touring through the south of Ireland to inspect the clubs. The plan was to seize Kilkenny and make it once more the seat of an Irish Government.

Kilkenny was not ready. At Carrick-on-Suir, a crowd was there to rise ; but 1200 troops of all arms were within three miles, and it was decided to begin the revolt at Cashel. In Cashel no one stirred ; the leaders marched out into the country, where a considerable body of peasants joined them, but melted away at the advice and entreaty of their priests. The whole ended in a skirmish outside the police barrack at the village of Ballingarry. Meagher and O'Brien were taken within a few days, and in October were tried at Clonmel, before a jury of Protestants, on a charge of treason, and sentenced to death. The sentence was later commuted to transportation for life.

Dillon had contrived to make his escape to America ; Duffy, after reiterated prosecutions, was finally discharged, and returned for a period to Irish public life. With this exception, the whole group of brilliant young men who had rallied round the *Nation*, and with them the very honourable gentleman who had been their actual leader in revolt, were either fugitives from their country or transported convicts.

CHAPTER XLI

THE FAMINE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

THE main fact of Irish history in the first fifty years of the legislative Union is that the population almost doubled, while the resources of the country did not materially increase, if they increased at all. Manufacturing industry had ceased to provide employment. At the Union, Irish artisans were estimated to be 157,000. By the time of the famine the number had dropped to a few thousands. The land became Ireland's sole resource, supplemented by some industries directly connected with agriculture, such as milling.

Agriculture itself was artificially fostered by the Corn Laws, introduced by Foster, and continued after the Union ; and so long as Irish corn got protection in the English market against foreign grain, a great part of the country was kept under wheat. When repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 took away this advantage, the system of farming pursued in Ireland had to be decided with a view to the question whether tillage or grazing paid best. Irish agriculture has always been affected by the fact that grass grows in Ireland over an exceptionally long period of the year, and can be converted into cash simply by putting cattle on to graze it. This process involves so little labour that a large farm can often be worked with almost as much profit to the occupier by leaving it in grass as by regular husbandry ; and collecting rents from a number of small tenants always involved much trouble and risk. The result of these facts was seen in the clearances. Ireland under the Union had a rapidly growing population, with a rapidly diminishing chance of employment except what the land afforded ; while, after the Napoleonic war ended, there was a growing tendency to employ the land in such a way that fewer families could find a living on it. This tendency was increased, as has been seen, by disfranchisement

of the small freeholders in 1829; it was enormously enhanced by the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846. Even the consolidation of a number of small holdings into one large tillage farm meant a lessening of employment, since machinery worked by horse-power replaced human labour; but where the land went into pasture, one herdsman could look after the cattle on a range of land that had supported twenty families.

In so far as Government interfered in the land policy of Ireland, it was to promote clearances. Acts were passed which made eviction easier and cheaper than in Great Britain. The underlying principle was that Government existed to maintain the rights of property, and that a landlord should be assisted by Government to use his land as seemed best to him. The sole counter-check to this lay in illegal combinations of the peasantry. Whiteboyism was a kind of trade union which, instead of seeking to raise wages, sought to prevent the raising of rents, and regarded those who outbid another tenant as blacklegs; it resisted consolidation of farms as trade unions in England resisted the introduction of labour-saving machinery; and it resisted them by similar methods of violence against the offender. Yet clearances and evictions proceeded, and the pressure of competition for land was too great to be restrained by fear. Rents were offered beyond all reasonable prospect of what could be paid, and a tenant's only hope was in escaping or postponing payment. Under such conditions it was impossible for the people to accumulate savings; they had no reserve fund against a failure of their food.

In Ulster, things were less bad because of the Ulster custom which ensured that each occupier had at least in hand the selling value of his tenant right. A remarkable consequence was that county Down, where there was least misery, maintained the densest population in Ireland. But in Down handloom weaving in cottages helped out the small farmers.

The evils and dangers of such a state of things as existed in Ireland were repeatedly pressed on the Government, and remedies were discussed. The Devon Commissioners, appointed in 1843, reported in 1845 just before the first great failure of the potato. They considered the possibility of State-aided emigration, but concluded that nearly two hundred thousand families would have to be transported, and that the cost would be little less than six millions; and they held that

this money could be much more usefully invested in a State-managed scheme for reclaiming waste lands so as to increase the room for farmers. This was a policy which from 1810 onwards had been recommended by successive commissions and committees ; yet up to the time of the famine no effective attempt had been made to apply it. Nearly all the reclamation which had been accomplished was done by cottiers who got leave to break in a patch of bog or mountain.

The Devon Commission reported that there were in Ireland 326,000 holdings insufficient to support the families occupying them. This represents about 1,630,000 people. They considered that by a redistribution of holdings about 600,000 of these could be provided for ; the remainder, a million, could only be put in a position to earn their living by emigrating them, or by employing them to reclaim waste land which would become their farms. In the emergency of the famine, Government took some steps to comply with the Commissioners' recommendations, and Acts were passed for advancing money to landlords for the improvement and reclamation of their lands. £778,000 was actually advanced, and before the end of 1849 over 70,000 acres had been reclaimed—say 70,000 holdings. This was only a drop in a bucket ; but meantime the problem had been solved in a very different way. Between 1846 and 1857, the small holdings, nine-tenths of which were under five acres, were reduced from 510,000 to 125,000. The population affected by this change would number about two millions of people. They had gone. Half, one may say roughly, had died ; half had fled from the country. An appalling number of them before they died or fled had been turned out of their miserable homes. Mr George O'Brien, in his *Economic History of Ireland from the Union to the Famine*, writes : " In the three years, 1847–48–49, no less than 35,416 ejectment decrees were granted " (several families, it should be noted, were often included in one decree) ; " but this figure gives no idea of the number of evictions that actually took place, as it does not include the numerous cases where the tenants were forced to quit their holdings through sheer inability to pay the rent, or where suits were begun and not brought to judgment."

Landlords carried out the work of clearance, but Government provided a new instrument for its accomplishment. By a clause in the Poor Law Act of 1847, no one holding more

than quarter of an acre was eligible for relief till he had given up his holding. Millions were by this decree given their choice between starvation and surrender of land.

The population in 1841 was 8,175,000, and must by 1845 have been over eight and a half millions. According to the Census Commissioners, it would normally have passed nine millions in 1851. It was actually in March of that year 6,500,000.

The deaths from actual starvation were an insignificant proportion, though they were counted by tens of thousands. Famine-fever, dysentery, cholera, and other disorders due to famine killed most. The charity of English people, as well as of the world at large, and specially of America, poured great sums into the stricken country; but the main part of the task fell inevitably on Government. Its first measure consisted in lowering the duties on imported corn; but the Bill did not pass till June 1846. Over 500 died from actual starvation in 1845; over 2000 in 1846; so that the measure was late in its application. Even when the ports were opened, great difficulties existed as to shipment. Corn could only be imported in British vessels up to 1847, when a suspension of the Navigation Laws was decreed; it had been demanded in Ireland as early as 1845. For more than a year Black Sea ports were full of corn available, but British shipping could not be had. A proposal to employ ships of war to bring grain to the country was rejected as an interference with the legitimate course of commerce.

The next step was to import maize or Indian corn on a large scale. The introduction of this article of food was due not merely to its cheapness, but to the fact that it had never been imported to Ireland, and so there was no interference with the regular flow of trade. But Ireland had no money to buy with, and no means of employment; therefore public works were established. It was laid down as a condition that no work should be undertaken which could benefit any private landowners. Most of the labour was spent uselessly on objects that could not lead to the provision of further employment. Proposals to utilise the labour for building railways were rejected; that was held to be an interference with private enterprise. Half the cost of works under this Act were to be a free grant from the United Kingdom. This was replaced by another Act which threw the entire cost of relief works on to

the localities. As many as 700,000 people were employed at one time upon labour, none of which was reproductive, and the whole charge fell on Ireland. At the same time there was a widespread and necessary establishment of "soup kitchens" for the distribution of cooked food. On the whole, £7,130,000 was advanced towards relief of famine, of which three and a half millions was a grant from the general exchequer. It must be remembered that the general exchequer included the proceeds of all Irish taxation; also that, by the Act of Union, both countries were to be taxed according to their respective abilities, and expenditure was to be distributed according to the necessities of each country, irrespective of its contribution.

Much of this immense outlay was necessarily devoted to providing food. But a great part of it might have been utilised on works which would thereafter have been of profit and have led to increased employment. All such expenditure was avoided. In truth, the British Government did not wish to retain the Irish people in Ireland. They regretted, as human beings must, the suffering, and they did their best, according to their very imperfect lights, to save life; but they welcomed the movement which had now set in. This was a new exodus.

In the eighteenth century the Irish nobles and gentry of the old race and religion despaired of their country, and left it. The mass of the people, however, remained and multiplied till under O'Connell's leadership they became a power. There had been emigration throughout the course of the nineteenth century, but it came largely from the artisan class (especially from Protestants), according as manufactures were closed down. After the famine of 1822 emigration increased, but it flowed mainly to England. As clearances grew more frequent, the population began to pour overseas to the British Colonies and elsewhere. In the ten years up to 1845 the number averaged 60,000. The potato blight sent the number up to 100,000 in 1846. In 1847–50 it averaged 200,000 a year; in 1851 it was just under 250,000. The Irish common people also had learnt to despair of Ireland. Those who went used their first resources to bring others after them; they sent home passage-money to the amount of nearly three million pounds in four years. Government had no need to subsidise emigration. In these years, and increasingly from these years onwards, Irish emigration was to the United

States—it shunned the British flag. Hate of the British Government and hate of the Irish landlords was part of the emigrant's creed; it was another aspect of their love of Ireland, and sometimes the more strongly felt. From the famine dates the beginning of Ireland's influence as a force in world politics, directed always against the British Empire.

The Irish landlords did not escape the common disaster. A tradition of improvidence had grown up in their class; most estates were heavily burdened with charges, and the actual owners had little margin and few reserves. Some men distinguished themselves by a self-sacrificing devotion. Richard Martin of Ballynahinch in Connemara, famous as a duellist and more famous as an organiser for prevention of cruelty to animals, flung all that was left of his fortune and his health into an effort to save his poor, and died in the effort. George Henry Moore, foremost among the steeplechase riders of his day, put money won on a big race at the service of his tenants, and so worked among them that in that wild district of Mayo mountains none died of hunger. It was the beginning of a notable public career. Lord George Hill in Donegal saved one of the most forlorn districts in Ireland from starvation. But there was another side to the story: evictors were busy. Most of the landlords, to do them justice, were powerless to help when their income ceased, for no rent was forthcoming. Bankruptcy was so general that an Encumbered Estates Act was passed which enabled the creditors of an estate to force a sale and provide purchasers with a clear title. Hundreds of the families which had held ascendancy in the Irish countryside, and had constantly sent men to the Irish and the British parliaments, now disappeared and were replaced by newcomers, many of whom regarded their purchase simply as an investment and dealt with the tenantry, whose holdings they acquired, simply as their own interest dictated. There were more and wider clearances. Men earned their passage-money to America in wages for pulling down the homesteads and fences on great tracts that were to become cattle runs. It was a ghastly period.

In 1853 Mr Gladstone became Chancellor of the Exchequer, and proposed a famous budget which is admitted to have suited very well the needs of Great Britain. Its application to Ireland had other consequences. The sums spent in relief which were due for repayment had fallen gravely into arrear,

which was not surprising in a country of bankrupt landlords and starving tenants. Gladstone proposed to remit the amount due, about four and a half millions, as a compensation for extending the income-tax to Ireland. The tax was estimated to produce about half a million a year, and it was imposed only for a period of seven years. Ireland on this showing stood to gain a million. The income-tax, however, was never remitted, and the same budget raised the spirit duties sharply.

The Act of Union had laid it down as a principle that the two countries should be united, but not on the basis of identical taxation. Up till 1853 Ireland had been taxed at a considerably lower rate than Great Britain. From the famine onwards, taxation was virtually identical. The result was that by 1861 Ireland's taxes increased by 52 per cent. in ten years : the increase in England in the same period was 17 per cent.

The state of Ireland, which had culminated in the famine, was far less a consequence of taxing the country too highly than of spending too little money in it and on it. The proceeds of taxation were spent very largely in armament, which gave employment in England and Scotland ; before the famine and after the famine, Irish taxpayers paid the wages of artisans in the English shipyards and cannon-foundries. There was no compensating outlay in Ireland. On the other hand, Ireland's need for outlay was terrible ; the country lay undeveloped, and Great Britain controlled the expenditure of all moneys ; yet, according to the figures furnished by the British Treasury, on a summary, during the fifty years from 1820 to 1870, 287 millions were raised by taxation in Ireland, and only 92 millions spent in Ireland—the balance going to Imperial purposes. In these purposes Ireland had little concern. From England's point of view, outlay on Army and Navy was a wise insurance on sea-borne commerce. But under the Union, with the decay of Irish industry, Ireland's sea-borne commerce needed very little protection. Her taxpayers were taxed to protect the commerce of their too successful rivals.

In truth, the famine brought to a head the consequences of endeavouring to govern two distinct countries on the same system ; these consequences were the worse because one was the richest country in Europe, with the most highly developed industrial system ; the other very poor and undeveloped.

Yet after the famine, English statesmen tried to make the system of government and the distribution of the burdens more completely identical than before. But the attempt broke down, and England, still under Mr Gladstone's direction, was driven to attempt governing Ireland within the Union by measures quite unlike those applied in England. The process, however, was long and demoralising.

After the disasters of 1848, certain men endeavoured to reconstruct a national party and to renew political agitation. Prominent among these was Charles Gavan Duffy, who on emerging from imprisonment revived the *Nation*. His aim was to find platforms that would bring together North and South and the connecting link which he saw lay in Ireland's common concern—the land. The last year had shown what terrible dangers attended the existing Irish land tenure. A great Ulster landlord, Sharman Crawford, had for many years advocated extending the Ulster custom to the rest of Ireland, so that no man who paid his rent could be put out of his holding without compensation. Ulster farmers wanted more; and they asked a limit to competitive rent. The League of North and South was founded to demand what later were called the "Three F.'s": Fixity of Tenure for all Irish tenants; Free Sale of the goodwill of their holding; and also institution of tribunals which should fix a Fair Rent as between landlord and tenant.

This was the outline of a policy which Ireland pursued during the rest of the century; but opinion was long uncertain as to the means of pursuing it. Duffy did not accept Lalor's plan of a general refusal to pay rents; he looked rather to action in Parliament. O'Connell had proved repeatedly that the Irish vote could make and unmake Ministries; but O'Connell had always allied himself with one political party, and had allowed and even encouraged his followers to accept favours and places from the Ministry which they supported. As early as 1847, the Young Ireland Party advocated the imposition of a pledge for candidates against accepting office in any Ministry that would not meet Ireland's demands. In the crisis of the famine, a great meeting in Dublin had demanded a purely Irish party that should give or withhold its support unanimously upon purely Irish grounds. This was the plan which Duffy with George Henry Moore and others now adopted. In 1852 a General Election was

held. More than fifty Irish members of Parliament pledged themselves to the policy of independent opposition, and, since English parties were almost equally balanced, there seemed a good prospect that Ireland, in return for its support, could induce one party or the other to accept the principle of Tenant Right. Lord Derby's Government refused, and Irish votes decided their downfall; a Coalition Government came in, also essentially weak. But it was found that two members of the Irish party, John Sadleir and William Keogh, had broken their pledge and accepted office from this administration. Their action was supported by seventeen members of the Independent group. So broke down the first attempt at independent opposition in parliament, which later was to prove a most effective method.

In Ireland the deserters were attacked: Sadleir was defeated when he presented himself for re-election after accepting office. But he had the support of the Catholic Bishop, behind whom was Dr Cullen, newly appointed Archbishop of Dublin, an Irish ecclesiastic whose whole life had been spent in Rome and whose sole interest was in the ecclesiastical purposes of the Vatican, as he conceived them. His influence was lent entirely to the support of Keogh and Sadleir, who carried Irish members into the lobby to vote for Gladstone's budget which imposed the income tax. The controversy in Ireland became fierce, and younger clergy were prohibited by their bishops from attending meetings which might assail those who now came to be called the "Pope's Brass Band." Appeal was made to Rome against Dr Cullen's line of action, but it failed; the Parliamentary movement broke up in rout. Duffy resigned his seat and went to Australia, where he became in course of time Prime Minister of Victoria; political life in Ireland grew stagnant and corrupt; the country, in a remembered phrase of Duffy's, lay "like a corpse on the dissecting table." During the next ten years Cardinal Cullen (as he soon became) was the most powerful figure in Catholic Ireland; and he disliked all popular agitation, which he identified with the work of Mazzini and Garibaldi. The country was deader than at any period since 1800; its able-bodied spirits were pouring out in emigration; over three-quarters of a million left the country between 1851 and 1856. At home the clearances and evictions produced the usual bloody reprisals, and Ribbonism,

the new name for Whiteboyism, had some deterrent effect on eviction, but no constructive result.

There was, however, a wholly different movement which was opposed to Ribbonism but which also relied on physical force. Even after 1848 certain abortive attempts at insurrection made themselves felt in Ireland; but among the Irish refugees and emigrants were the seeds of a far more serious menace. Among those who failed in 1848, but did not relinquish their purpose, were John O'Mahoney and James Stephens. Both at first found shelter in France, then went to America. Another, John O'Leary, remained in Ireland. "If Young Ireland had failed and failed definitely on her revolutionary policy, she had certainly not failed in her education and propagandist policy," writes O'Leary. The men of this new movement abandoned, however, what was the idea of 1848, to rush the country into a sudden outburst; they fell back on Wolfe Tone's plan of a long-prepared, secret, and oath-bound conspiracy to overthrow British rule by force.

Yet before the organisation was framed, its opportunities had gone by. The Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny passed over without a ripple of insurrection in Ireland. It was in the spring of 1858 that Stephens with Thomas Luby formally inaugurated the I.R.B., or Irish Republican Brotherhood, which in America was generally called the Fenian organisation. Its members were to be the new Fianna: Young Ireland had familiarised its adherents with the legendary histories of Finn MacCool and his warriors. From 1858 onwards Stephens was busy swearing in recruits in Ireland, provided, though very meagrely at first, with funds supplied from America, where O'Mahoney was the Head Centre.

The Fenian oath ran:—

"I, A. B., in the presence of Almighty God, do solemnly swear allegiance to the Irish Republic now virtually established; and that I will do my very utmost, at every risk, while life lasts, to defend its independence and integrity; and finally, that I will yield implicit obedience in all things, not contrary to the law of God, to the commands of my superior officers. So help me God. Amen."

None of the men connected with the movement were widely known outside its circle; and from the time of its beginning, several of the leaders of the revolt of 1848, who had either escaped from Australia or been reprieved after ten

years, counselled the country against secret conspiracy. Smith O'Brien took this course. Mitchel, however, always supported the idea of physical force and inveterate hostility to the British connection, and he took the Fenian oath; yet he was never active in the new movement.

Fenianism was, of all Irish movements in that century, the most democratic in its type. It drew its adherents very largely from mechanics and shop assistants, and only to a limited extent from the peasantry. The first demonstration of its extent was given in 1861, when it was decided to bring back to Ireland the body of Terence McManus, a rebel sentenced to death along with Smith O'Brien and Meagher, who had escaped from his convict settlement and gone to San Francisco, where he died. The remains, transported with ceremony across the American continent, were laid in state in the Catholic Cathedral of New York. In Dublin all ecclesiastical ceremony was forbidden by Cardinal Cullen; but the procession which followed the body to Glasnevin was of enormous extent, a pageant demonstrating Ireland's continued allegiance to the cause of rebellion in the person of a rebel who had no result to show but his own example of self-sacrifice. The muster made a vast recruiting rally for the Fenians, who took charge of the whole display. Stephens spoke the funeral oration over the grave.

This demonstration, however, would probably have never taken place without the stimulus of external events. In 1782, 1798, 1803, and 1848 European wars involving or threatening to involve England had produced in Ireland a movement towards physical force. The American Civil War inevitably had the same effect. At the moment of the McManus funeral a Federal warship had stopped a British vessel on the high seas and taken out of it two envoys of the Confederates. This episode (the *Trent* incident) threatened to produce war between Great Britain and the Northern States. The Irish in America now flung themselves into the Federal armies where many, but notably Meagher, won great distinction. The purpose of thousands was to train themselves for a struggle against England.

In November 1863 the Fenian movement became more open and it started an organ *The Irish People*, edited by John O'Leary, Luby, and Charles Kickham the novelist. This paper was in sharp hostility to the constitutional move-

ment, in which a very able man, A. M. Sullivan, was now becoming prominent. On the other hand, *The Irish People* was bitterly assailed by the clericals. Yet in spite of much advice from the pulpit, and even threats of excommunication, Fenianism continued to spread. The close of the American war liberated many trained Irish officers, who offered their services; and the dispute between England and America on the claims for damages done by the *Alabama* again threatened war between the nations. At the same time, parliament checked the hopes of land reformers from a constitutional movement: Lord Palmerston, then the most powerful man in England, was a great Irish landlord, and he laid down the maxim that "Tenant Right is Landlord Wrong." Meanwhile Dublin Castle, through its spies, became aware that Fenianism was spreading even into the army and the police, and after the General Election of 1865 the new Government decided to act. They began by seizing the staff of *The Irish People*, which comprised some of the chief leaders in the organisation. A few weeks later Stephens was tracked down and arrested; but just before his trial was due he escaped from jail, through help of one of the warders who was a Fenian. O'Leary and the others were sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment, and the garrison in Ireland was greatly strengthened. No outbreak came till the spring of 1867; and then in Kerry, in Tipperary, and at Tallaght outside of Dublin, it ended in a fiasco. But the organisation was still strong, especially among the Irish in England, of whom great masses were to be found in Lancashire and Yorkshire. An attempt was planned to seize Chester Castle, where a large quantity of arms was weakly guarded. It failed almost by chance, and revelation of the plot disturbed English security. More exciting events followed in Manchester. Colonel Kelly, an ex-officer of the American army, who replaced Stephens in command of the Irish organisation, had fled after the failure of the insurrection and was taken in Liverpool. A plan was arranged to rescue him and another from the prison van which took them from the court to the jail in Manchester, in July 1867. The rescue succeeded, but a pistol was fired (it is said, to burst the lock of the van), and a police sergeant was shot dead; several of the rescuing party were captured, and no less than five were sentenced to death, according to the English law which treats any accomplice in a felonious act from which

death results as guilty of murder. One of the five, Captain O'Meagher Condon, an American citizen and officer, replied to the pronouncement of death sentence : " God save Ireland," and the words were taken up by his comrades. They became the refrain of a song which was a rallying cry for the next generation. Condon's sentence was commuted to penal servitude, on protest from the American government ; another man, Maguire, was shown to have been sentenced in error ; the other three, Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien, were hanged. A great demonstration in Dublin marked acceptance of " the Manchester Martyrs " in the list of felons by English law who were Ireland's heroes. In December of the same year the explosion of a barrel of powder outside the jail at Clerkenwell killed and wounded several persons, though it did not produce the intended rescue of a Fenian prisoner. The author of the attempt was detected and hanged ; but he also had contributed to an important result. Mr Gladstone, in a speech of singular candour, afterwards made it plain that these happenings had roused the English mind out of its apathy on Irish questions. Nothing had been done by way of remedial legislation since the famine—a period of twenty years. After the Fenian outbreak, Mr Gladstone, coming into power at the General Election of 1868, decided to conciliate Irish opinion by disestablishing the Irish Church.

The measure was only in a small degree addressed to Ireland's material necessities. Out of Church property estimated at fifteen millions, a little over four millions was made national. Part of this was applied to cover the grant to Maynooth and the *Regium Donum* to the Presbyterians, which had formerly been a charge on the exchequer of the United Kingdom ; the balance was held over as a fund for purposes of general utility. Also, a beginning was made with the conversion of rent-payers into owners, by State aid. Advances were made to glebe tenants who desired to purchase their holdings ; but the sum advanced did not cover the entire cost, tenants bought when land was high in price, in the agricultural prosperity which followed the Franco-Prussian war, and on the whole this earliest class of peasant purchaser, paying annual instalments in place of rent, made a bad bargain.

But, as a concession to national feeling, disestablishment was welcome. It removed the chief symbol of Protestant

ascendancy ; it recognised that, though England was, Ireland was not, a Protestant nation. The Union ceased to be a Protestant Union. Also, a first breach was made in the citadel. If the Act of Union was alterable in one particular it was alterable in any ; it had no longer any sacrosanct character.

The Irish Church itself, if it lost in money, gained in self-respect. It became self-managing, and its funds were more reasonably distributed. It took on, however, a stamp of Evangelical Protestantism which has made it increasingly distinct from the established Church in England.

Far more important than disestablishment was the reform which Mr Gladstone attempted in 1870. But his Irish Church Act did its work ; the Land Act of 1870 was a failure. Yet it gave legal recognition to the Ulster custom and sought to extend it ; it enacted that all over Ireland a solvent tenant should not be put out of his holding without compensation for the improvements which he had made. But clauses in it made it possible for a tenant to contract out of a right to these benefits, and the competition for land was such that many tenants agreed to this sacrifice. Above all, after the Act as before it, landlords had and used the power to rack-rent, that is, to fix the rent by unlimited competition ; and they could evict at will any tenant who was in arrears.

From the Gladstone administration of 1868 onwards, both British parties recognised that there were needs of Ireland which must be met by special legislation ; and both parties made the attempt. Unhappily in 1868 and afterwards, remedial legislation came as a result of violent breaches of the law committed by Irishmen, for which these Irishmen suffered varying forms of penalty, up to that of death. Also, in the choice of remedies Irish opinion was ignored, and English expedients were singularly ill-chosen. An example is worth giving. Mr Gladstone in 1873 attempted to meet the demand for a university which would satisfy Irish feeling, and he proposed to combine all existing university institutions into one National University. This would have included the Catholic University founded at Dublin in 1850 by Dr, afterwards Cardinal, Newman, which had subsisted on small voluntary funds and which was denied the right to confer degrees. But the proposal was that Trinity College, as a college in the university, should retain its great endowments ;

the Queen's Colleges should keep those moderate ones conferred on them by law ; while the Catholic University should have no State aid. On the other hand, all these colleges were to become subject to a joint Board similar in constitution to that which governed National Education ; and in order to carry out this compromise, the University was to be debarred from giving any teaching in modern history or philosophy. This amazing scheme, coming from a great Oxford man, is worth noting as typical of what the best English minds considered suitable to the needs of Ireland. At the back of English policy for Ireland was the view that Ireland was a country of warring sects who would certainly destroy each other if England did not interfere to prevent them ; and the conclusion followed that it was England's duty to deny Ireland freedom—even if that were only freedom to study history and philosophy ; still more, if it involved controlling Irish government. No English statesman would accept the principle that Ireland should be governed according to Irish ideas.

Mr Disraeli's Government, coming into power in 1874, also dealt with the question of Irish education. In 1878 the Irish Church surplus was drawn upon to establish a Board of Intermediate Education, which should hold examinations and according to the results distribute subsidies to secondary schools. The curriculum for the examinations excluded all such controversial subjects as modern history, and, more particularly, modern Irish history. In the following year the same fund was utilised to set up the Royal University, a body authorised to hold examinations and confer degrees upon them who satisfied its requirements. It provided no teaching, but it enabled students of the Catholic university to become graduates. In this case the Irish measure was modelled closely after the pattern of the University of London.

In this Parliament, which lasted from 1874 to 1880, there was for the first time a majority of Irish members returned with a pledge to demand self-government. The leader of this party of sixty was Isaac Butt. His work as an advocate defending the Fenian prisoners had completed his conversion to the principles which he opposed in O'Connell's day ; but he put forward an alternative to the naked demand for Repeal. This was what he called Home Rule. An Irish Parliament was to control Irish affairs ; but Ireland was to retain a federal

connection with the Empire, and in virtue of this was still to send representatives to Westminster.

This policy at the outset gained a measure of support from Protestant Liberals, of whom Butt himself was one. Yet the party was loosely knit, undistinguished, and ineffective in its methods. But one of its least conspicuous personages soon became remarkable by methods of his own. This was Joseph Gillis Biggar, a North of Ireland Protestant, who from the first set himself to disregard all the conventions and traditions of the House; he obstructed business deliberately. Under O'Connell and later, this had been done on certain occasions by Englishmen as well as Irishmen. Biggar was the first to undertake it systematically, on all matters, without special provocation, but as a general campaign to prevent Parliament from doing anything, unless it did for Ireland what Ireland asked. Biggar was a grotesque figure, and Butt as his leader disliked and disavowed his action. But in 1876 Charles Stewart Parnell, a young Protestant squire, was elected as member for Meath, and he joined Biggar in his campaign, but brought to its direction a very different intelligence. Selecting subjects on which he could command some popular support—such as the opposition to flogging in the army—and studying most carefully the rules of the House, he succeeded in gaining other supporters besides Biggar; and his methods by exasperating England delighted Ireland.

Fenianism had by this time fallen somewhat into disrepute, though the sentiment for the rebel remained; and perhaps Parnell's action at first appealed mainly as a form of rebellion more annoying to England than the lingering conspiracies. The two different camps into which Nationalist Ireland was divided still remained hostile to each other. Butt's party, in spite of its numerical strength, had achieved nothing to justify its existence; yet on the whole the trend at this time was towards parliamentary action and away from physical force. From Parnell's advent, for the first time since O'Connell, a parliamentary figure captured the imagination of Ireland. Parnell rapidly grew into fame, and in 1878 was chosen to replace Butt as President of the Home Rule organisation of Great Britain. It was the first step to leadership. But few can have hoped that this leader would be able to blend into one force the two divergent streams of Irish national effort, divided since 1845.

CHAPTER XLII

THE PARNELL MOVEMENT

Parnell stands with O'Connell as one of the two Irishmen who without the control of a government and its resources wielded single-handed the power of a nation. He continued O'Connell's work; their results cannot really be separated and compared, because what O'Connell had achieved was essential to Parnell's success. O'Connell had not merely secured the right of Irish constituencies to choose whom they pleased to represent them; he had given the proof that Ireland's people, united under one leader, could become a great force in the State. The problem for Parnell was, first, how to unite Ireland again; secondly, how to apply the power so acquired. For Parnell as for O'Connell, the ultimate object was the control of Ireland; but each had a nearer and immediate aim. For O'Connell, it was to secure that all Irishmen should have equal rights before the law; and he secured it in theory. For Parnell, it was to secure equal rights in practice by limiting the landlord ascendancy. This objective was already clearly defined when the new leader entered public life; and it was being sought in two ways. Fenianism plotted for the end of landlordism as fiercely as for the end of English rule; Butt's Home Rule party in the House of Commons spent their time in proposing Land Bill after Land Bill. Ireland was divided between these two ways of action. Parnell's hope to concentrate energy on a parliamentary movement lay in the fact that Fenianism had begun to be discredited, through its failure, and through the frequency with which informers were found in its ranks; his difficulty arose from the distrust of all constitutional movements which the "Pope's Brass Band" had created. This distrust was lessened by his own open and continued defiance of English opinion in the House of Commons, which

appealed to Nationalist sentiment as an assertion of independence not less effective than futile revolt. Moreover, there were men among the Fenains who realised that Ireland could not afford to wait for the chance of some day when armed rebellion might succeed. Her people were dwindling as rapidly as they had increased; and by 1875 the country had assumed a new appearance. Population which had been dense on the rich lands was now thin in proportion to their richness. The belt running through Meath into Kildare, which is perhaps the most fertile soil in Europe, had already fewer inhabitants to the square mile than any other district, except absolute mountain regions. Clearances had affected the midlands far more than the outlying north, south, and west; along the Atlantic seaboard, people were still thick, and still on the verge of famine.

From 1875 onwards, agricultural prices began to fall, and tenants found it difficult or impossible to pay the rack-rents which they had promised. Failure to pay rendered them liable to eviction without compensation, and evictions increased rapidly. Moreover, the potato crop again suffered. All these facts prompted John Devoy, a prominent Fenian in America, to contemplate and advocate what he called "A New Departure." This was an attempt to unite Ireland for the purpose of securing land reform. In Ireland itself a man was found to preach the same doctrine from the ranks of Fenianism. Michael Davitt, son of Mayo peasants who were evicted when he was a child and migrated to Lancashire, had as a young factory hand lost an arm through an accident with machinery; but he was none the less active in Fenian conspiracies, which led at last to his arrest and conviction. At the close of 1877 he was released on ticket of leave—having served eight of his fifteen years' sentence. This remarkable man came out of an English prison full of a hope that he could create a solid alliance between Ireland and the British working classes among whom he was brought up. His Irish Nationalism was only a part of his faith in democracy. After public receptions in Dublin he went to America and combined with Devoy. Orthodox Fenianism still opposed bitterly any alliance with the constitutional movement in Ireland, and rejected Davitt's desire for a reconcilement between the English and Irish peoples. But Ireland's need grew urgent, especially in the poverty-stricken west, where

people were huddled thick on land not good enough for cattle farms ; and in pursuance of Davitt's suggestions, there was held, in April 1879, at Irishtown in County Mayo, a meeting from which the land revolution is held to date. It aimed at a league of the peasantry to secure a better tenure of the land. Two months later, at Westport in the same county, Parnell threw into the " new departure " the influence which he had acquired by his action in parliament. It was a bold extension of his policy when at Westport he declared definitely for a solution of the Irish land question on Continental not English lines. In Belgium, in Prussia, in France, and in Russia, he said, a peasant proprietary had been established. To replace the receivers of rent by the rent-payers, the landlord by the tenant—that was the aim which he laid down. This meant a revolution in Ireland, and within a generation it was accomplished by an unarmed people. Its method of action was indicated in Parnell's advice to Ireland : " You must show the landlords that you intend to keep a firm grip of your homesteads and your land." Three months later the Land League was founded, and Parnell was chosen its president. He went then on the first of his missions to America to work for support and funds, having for his companion Mr John Dillon, son of the Young Ireland leader.

Half of the funds raised were allocated to relief, for there was famine in the west that winter ; the balance gave the Land League a capital of over £35,000. But the most important result of Parnell's journey was undoubtedly that he reached an understanding with the Fenians—though not with all. This was due to Davitt's assistance, and to Davitt's personality.

The General Election of 1880 came unexpectedly while Parnell was in America ; he hurried back and, though short of all preparation for the campaign, he brought nearly thirty personal supporters into parliament. These included Mr Dillon, Mr T. P. O'Connor, and Mr Sexton ; by-elections soon enabled him to bring in Mr T. M. Healy and Mr Redmond. In 1879 Mr Justin McCarthy had been elected for Longford, and he added his great ability and his prestige as a literary man to Parnell's following. He was of an older generation ; the rest were young men with a young leader. They brought to the House of Commons extreme ability in debate combined with a determination to use all parliamentary traditions to

the damage of parliament. The strength of their position lay, first, in the fact that parliament had even then immensely more to do than it could accomplish; secondly, that the Radical party, which for the first time had come into power, and formed one wing of Mr Gladstone's ministry, was insistent for legislation, and not content merely to administer; and thirdly, that Parliament was very conservative of its usages. These usages had been framed on the assumption that members would be desirous to forward the work of parliament; but the Irish group was determined to hinder it. They used obstruction as a means of inflicting actual injury on the machinery of that Government which governed Ireland without Ireland's consent. But they also utilised the attention thus called to their proceedings to make the case of Ireland familiar to the English public.

Incidentally, the result has been to damage parliamentary institutions everywhere. The weapons introduced by Parnell have been used by all parties. Parliament indeed was soon driven to remodel its procedure and abolish many of the facilities for wasting time; but, up to 1914, all parties at Westminster resisted the passage of any obnoxious measure by prolonging discussion to the utmost limit possible, in an assembly which never had time to accomplish the work that should be done. The example of Westminster has been followed wherever parliamentary institutions exist.

Yet efficient as obstruction was, it could not have accomplished its work alone. Parnell, rejecting the idea of physical force, set himself to make Ireland ungovernable by encouraging and organising that "predial" agitation which O'Connell condemned. Essentially the Land League was a vast Trades Union of the Irish tenants. It differed from the Whiteboy and Ribbon organisations in scope and in methods, but not in purpose. It was far more widely extended, and it commanded large funds. These funds enabled it to give relief to those who suffered from the penalty of resistance to rack-rent; evicted tenants were not driven to murder in sheer despair. Crime was definitely condemned. But the League, like the Whiteboys, had a penalty for those whom it wished to punish; it relied on the "Boycott," to which an unpopular landlord and agent in County Mayo gave a name. The more widespread the organisation, the more complete the boycott, the more drastic the penalty, and the League was at once

denounced as a criminal conspiracy. The boycott is indeed a demoralising weapon, yet invention has not provided any other for the many poor against the few rich in their mutual dealings. Three landlords could without offending against any law meet and decide to give no reductions of rent in such a year as 1879 ; three thousand people might be affected by their decision, scores of evictions might be its result ; but if the tenants combined to act as one body and took the only means to make their combination solid, they were a criminal conspiracy in the eyes of the law. It was by use of the boycott, combined with refusal to pay rents, that those reforms were brought about for which Butt as a Home Ruler and Sharman Crawford as a Unionist had vainly argued in parliament.

Yet here again the mere combination of tenants against landlords could hardly have achieved its object by itself. It had existed in many forms for more than a century. The value of Parnell's policy was that by combining resistance in Ireland with resistance in parliament, he carried the driving stroke of his vast organisation right home to the very citadel of power.

It was of the essence of his policy that the Irish party in parliament should remain permanently in opposition, equally aloof from both sides, giving or withholding support on all questions without reference to the merits, but solely as the interests of Ireland dictated ; and further, that every member should be bound in honour to accept no office from Government—an obligation which in nearly forty years was never broken by any member of a group consisting almost without exception of poor men.

Finally Parnell made it clear to Great Britain and to Ireland alike that whatever the immediate object pursued, his goal was self-government. " I would not have taken off my coat and gone to this work," he said in one of his most quoted speeches, " if I had not known that we were laying the foundation in this movement for the regeneration of our legislative independence."

He was right. A movement to establish a peasant proprietary all over Ireland was a movement to restore to the " old inhabitants of the island " the property in land and the power that goes with such property. His aim was to destroy the monopoly of power possessed by those who called them-

selves " England's faithful garrison " ; and he proposed also to limit their property. Parnell, a landlord himself, never aimed at confiscation ; his policy was to purchase at a price fixed by the State. But the class attacked regarded this as absolute confiscation, and the Irish question now came to be nakedly a class-war. Henceforward there could be no hope of support from the landed gentry, whom O'Connell and Butt had sought to conciliate. Yet, in point of fact, no support of any value had ever come from them as a class ; naturally, for no class possessing a monopoly is likely to destroy it. The situation had at last disclosed its realities.

The Liberal Government, however, had no intention of assisting in a revolution ; its first attempt was merely to palliate distress. The Chief Secretary was Mr W. E. Forster, a Quaker, who had done valuable work in the famine years ; and he introduced a Bill which enacted that compensation for disturbance must be paid to any tenant evicted even for arrears of rent. The House of Lords threw out his measure, and agitation in Ireland against the payment of unreduced rent was quickened ; the League's organisation, like that of earlier leagues, became a local law, much more powerful than the Government. Mr Forster determined to assert British law. Prosecutions for conspiracy were set on foot against Parnell and his leading colleagues, but failed. One man the Chief Secretary could reach : Michael Davitt was on ticket of leave ; it was recalled, and he went back to prison. This action against a man scarcely second to Parnell in popularity created fury, and trouble spread. Government sought new powers, and in the opening of 1881 a Bill was introduced which empowered the Government to put in jail, without trial, any person suspected of the intention to commit or to promote crime. In resisting this all the forms of obstruction were used, until finally the House refused to stand by its own rules ; the debate was closed by an arbitrary act of the Speaker.

This led to the introduction of the Closure, which asserts the power of a majority to limit obstruction.

But while these steps were being taken to ensure that the Irish agitators should be punished as criminals, Mr Gladstone was preparing a measure to concede the reform for which they agitated. The Land Act of 1881 ranks with the Emancipation Act of 1829. It established the principle that the occupier of land in Ireland had an interest in the land which law must

recognise, and which was independent of the landlord's; it laid down also that the landlord's power to dispose of his own interest must be limited by law. Tribunals were set up to determine the rent which might be charged. Thus over all Ireland a share in the property of land was conceded to tenants, who included virtually all the old inhabitants of the island; it limited drastically the right of property which, as a result of successive confiscations, had been granted to aliens and their descendants. The Bill of 1881 was neither complete nor logical; it led to much subsequent legislation that its principles might receive reasonable application; and it was not statesmanlike, since it involved law proceedings for nearly every holding in Ireland, and enacted that at the end of every fifteen years these proceedings should be renewed by a fresh appeal to the courts. But it admitted of being passed into law; and it is doubtful whether the plan of creating a peasant proprietary by State-aided purchase could at that time have been carried at Westminster.

The effect, however, was to deprive the landlords of their power to get rid of a tenant either by simple eviction or by arbitrary raising of his rent; and in this way it gave security of tenure to the occupiers, who could now improve their land for their own benefit. Also, it reduced the rents on an average by twenty per cent., although the tribunals set up represented the landlord's interest quite as fully as the tenants. It thus became clear that even men who had, and deserved, the name of good landlords were charging an excessive rent, which seemed to them moderate because they might have exacted a rack-rent, and probably had neighbours who did so. It is clear also that the reductions were moderate. Fifteen years later, when second-term rents came to be fixed, there was another cut averaging twenty per cent. on the rental first fixed.

These measures pressed with great hardship on landlords, because estates were heavily charged and no attempt was made to reduce by law the charges in proportion to the legally enforced reductions of rent. This inequitable procedure, even more than the reductions of rent, tended to deprive Ireland of its landed gentry, and is a main reason why in the dual ownership established by the Act of 1881 the tenant's interest steadily came to predominate. Tenant right often sold for a price higher than the landowner's interest would fetch;

and the landlords, seeing that their property was threatened with extinction, became in course of time ready to adopt the policy originally advocated by Parnell; namely, to allow themselves to be bought out by the State, and leave entire ownership to the occupiers of the land.

This development from the Act passed in 1881 required, however, more than twenty years to accomplish, and was not foreseen at the time. Gladstone's measure was not accepted with enthusiasm by Parnell and his party. They refused to vote for or against it, and when it became law, Parnell's policy was to ascertain its value by carefully chosen test cases; he advised the tenants meanwhile to keep out of the courts. But he had no power to keep out the Ulster Protestant tenants who flocked in; and it was clear that the tenantry at large were likely to follow their example. Mr Gladstone and Mr Forster, who put much faith in the reconciling effect of their Act, considered that Parnell was deliberately keeping the country in turmoil, and believed, it seems, that a majority of the Irish people would be thankful if an end were made of agitation. Parnell's arrest was ordered; the Irish jails began to be filled with "suspects." It was the Government's belief that if a certain set of disturbing persons were removed, the country would at once become peaceful. The answer was a No-Rent Manifesto issued by Parnell from Kilmainham jail. It was widely obeyed, and was answered by a huge increase in evictions. Nearly all the accredited constitutional leaders were arrested; the Land League was suppressed. A Ladies' Land League took charge, and the women politicians were then, as always, more extreme than the men. This, however, was in the open; underground, the secret societies revived; murders doubled in frequency. By the spring of 1882 it was plain that Forster's predictions had gone hopelessly astray; crime was increasing, not diminishing, as a result of the arrests. On the other hand, Parnell and his colleagues were aware that control was slipping out of their hands and that a chaos of disorder must result. Negotiations were opened, and the so-called Kilmainham Treaty was concluded. The suspects were released, Mr Forster resigned, and for a few days it seemed certain that the Irish leaders could and would assist the Government to go on with a work of genuine pacification. On Saturday, 6th May 1882, the newly appointed Chief Secretary, Lord Frederick

Cavendish, reached Dublin ; he was brother to Lord Hartington, chief of the Whig section in Mr Gladstone's Cabinet. Mr Burke, Under Secretary, permanent head of Dublin Castle, met the Chief Secreatry, and the two agreed to walk out to their residences in the Phœnix Park. They were dogged and stabbed to death within sight of the Viceregal Lodge by members of a little secret gang who called themselves The Invincibles. Mr Burke was their quarry ; they did not even suspect who his companion was.

This crime flung back the constitutional movement by years. It was a mortal blow to Parnell's policy, because a great proportion of the English people believed it to be the work of his organisation. Actually, it was the result of taking away the leaders from a vast national movement. The next step was a new coercion Act, and for two years Parnell himself was largely powerless, while Ireland made a furious resistance to the law—largely inspired by *United Ireland*, a newspaper which Mr William O'Brien edited and in great part wrote. Mr O'Brien became member for his native town of Mallow, and was thenceforward one of the chief speakers as well as actors in the movement.

Predial agitation in Ireland was, as has been seen, only one part of the machinery by which Parnell acted ; and there is no doubt that when the Kilmainham Treaty was concluded he desired to lessen its preponderance. The Phœnix Park murders, by bringing about renewal and increase of coercion, determined that resistance to the law should be still the main part of Ireland's activity ; but Parnell never lost his grip on the parliamentary situation. In the summer of 1884 he was able by a combination with the Tory party to defeat the Liberal Government on its budget and bring about Mr Gladstone's resignation. Lord Salisbury came into power. During the year 1885 negotiations with Parnell went on through the Tory Viceroy, Lord Carnarvon. A scheme of Home Rule was fully discussed between the two men at secret meetings.

In the Liberal Cabinet before its downfall there had been much discussion of a scheme put forward by Mr Chamberlain for the establishment of representative county government in Ireland to replace the Grand Juries ; and for a Central Elective Board to control administration over the whole country, with power to raise funds and pass bye-laws. Mr

Gladstone accepted this, but the Cabinet rejected it. This was known to Parnell. At the General Election in the end of 1885 he decided to give the support of the Irish in England, which in many constituencies might be decisive, to the Tory party. Yet the Liberals came back with a majority of 82 over the Tories. In Ireland, however, as a result of the extended franchise established in 1885, out of 103 members, 86 Parnellites were returned. Outside of Ulster, Unionists were not simply beaten but swamped; since then, scarcely one Unionist candidate was ever put forward, except in a couple of Dublin constituencies. In Ulster, Nationalists won a majority of the seats.

This electoral demonstration was taken by Mr Gladstone as conclusive. He decided for Home Rule; but he had the statesmanlike desire that the Irish question should be kept outside of party politics, and he proposed that Lord Salisbury should remain in office to carry Home Rule with Liberal support. Lord Salisbury refused; he disavowed Lord Carnarvon. Lord Randolph Churchill, then the growing power among Tories, who had pressed hard for Home Rule, now went over to Ulster and made the first appeal to Ulster to resist by physical force. Mr Gladstone, on the other hand, failed to carry his whole party with him for his new policy. The Whig section revolted and was joined by two leading Radicals, Bright and Chamberlain. Yet Mr Gladstone went on with what became the crusade of his last years; and the personal feeling which he had inspired in his own country now began to extend itself to Ireland.

In 1886 the first Home Rule Bill was rejected after a prolonged debate; and at the General Election which followed, a combination of Tories and Liberal Unionists (as the Chamberlain group was now called) came into power. Mr Arthur Balfour became Chief Secretary, and there was a new period of coercion supporting evictions, and of violent agrarian agitation in Ireland. This led the Government to seek for Rome's intervention, and a Papal Rescript was issued condemning lawlessness. It was met by a respectful but emphatic rejoinder from the Catholic members of Parnell's party which was a definite re-statement of O'Connell's attitude. Some years earlier the Irish people as a whole had given practical evidence of their feeling in this respect. A national tribute to Parnell had been proposed, and Rome forbade the clergy to

assist in raising it ; the fund immediately swelled till the sum trebled the amount originally asked.

From 1886 a steady campaign was in progress for the conversion of England to Home Rule. The " Union of hearts " between the two democracies, then much talked of, was very greatly helped by the failure of a desperate attack. The *Times* printed in facsimile letters which purported to be Parnell's, showing complicity in murder. Parnell's denial in the House was not credited by his opponents, and on his demand for a parliamentary inquiry, an extraordinary commission was set up, consisting of three judges. Before this tribunal the purveyor of the letters, Richard Pigott, broke down under cross-examination, admitted forgery, and a few days later shot himelf. The reaction told in favour of Parnell's cause, which was now Gladstone's as much as Parnell's.

Then came in 1890 the public announcement of proceedings in the divorce court against Parnell, taken by one who had been a member of his party. The case was undefended. In Ireland, no move was made by the clergy, or by any section of the people ; the parliamentary party declared their continued confidence in the leader. But clamour rose in England, where certainly any prominent politician in similar circumstances would have felt it necessary to withdraw at least for a while from public life. Mr Gladstone was hard pressed by his supporters, and finally wrote a letter which meant that either Parnell or he must retire. It is difficult now to realise what Mr Gladstone's personality then meant ; his support seemed vital to the movement ; and his demand for Parnell's withdrawal was now supported by the Catholic clergy in Ireland. Parnell refused. The Irish party, after prolonged debate, broke into two sections ; the division became a feud, and the contest was maintained at a series of elections which went heavily against Parnell. In 1891 he died, in early middle age. The tide of support for Home Rule which had shown itself at by-elections in Great Britain turned with the divorce case, and the General Election in 1892 brought back the Liberals with a majority of the British electorate against them, yet kept in power by the Irish vote. A second Home Rule Bill was introduced by Mr Gladstone, and after infinite labour carried through the House of Commons by narrow majorities, only to be rejected contemptuously by the Lords. Mr Gladstone resigned office. After

Lord Rosebery's brief and futile administration, a General Election put the Unionists solidly into power; though even with the split in Nationalism, Home Rulers still held four-fifths of the Irish seats. But all hope of getting self-government from the Tories was at an end; by keeping the Irish question unsettled, they could keep Liberals divided, and this therefore was the sure plan to maintain themselves in power. For several years from 1895 onwards Home Rule was generally believed to be dead.

CHAPTER XLIII

PARNELL'S SUCCESSORS

THE greatness of Parnell may best be measured by the fact that even those who broke away from his leadership never ceased to claim that they were carrying on his work ; and in truth they were.

Home Rule had not been won ; yet Parnell had succeeded in identifying one great party in the State with it so completely that their opponents were known now simply as Unionists—upholders of the Union. It was true that the Home Rule party in Great Britain seemed to have little chance of coming into power, and the ill success of Liberalism was attributed to this item in its policy. Yet, on the other hand, the Unionist party felt bound to undertake a course of what was called "killing Home Rule by kindness." This in effect meant transferring the control of Ireland to Irishmen by degrees. Mr Balfour as Chief Secretary had made a beginning by his establishment in 1891 of the Congested Districts Board, a body to which was entrusted the special charge of districts where the population was greater than the resources of the soil could support. These lay along the western seaboard from Donegal to Cork. The Board was nominated by Government, but it included men of a type never before associated with Irish administration ; notably, some prominent ecclesiastics of the Catholic Church who were active supporters of the Nationalist party. It had power to purchase estates and redistribute the land so as to provide holdings that would support families and also to assist in the erection of buildings. It did much also to develop local fisheries ; but this attempt, though successful for some ten years, was largely neutralised by the application of steam power to this industry. Irish fishermen had no sooner learnt to handle sailing boats of ten to forty tons than they were faced with the competition of

much larger vessels using steam, and they had not the capital to compete. Nevertheless a good deal of the work that was done in this respect lasted; and such places as the Aran Islands, hitherto periodically swept by famine, are now reasonably prosperous, and can utilise the markets which were then organised. Credit for this development belongs mainly to one man, the Rev. W. S. Green, the Board's Chief Inspector of Fisheries.

The annual grant voted by parliament to pay for the Board's work marks the beginning of an attempt to develop Ireland through Imperial expenditure. This process was sharply stimulated by the Report of a Commission appointed in 1893 by the Liberal Government to inquire into the financial relations between Great Britain and Ireland. It consisted in the main of British financial experts, under the chairmanship of Mr Childers, who had been Mr Gladstone's Chancellor of the Exchequer. Their report, issued in 1896, was not unanimous, but the Commissioners agreed in finding that "the Act of Union imposed upon Ireland a burden which, as events showed, she was unable to bear"; also, that Ireland was paying about one-eleventh of the taxes actually paid by Great Britain, but was not in the opinion of any of them fit to pay more than one-twentieth. Some of the Commissioners estimated Ireland's taxable capacity at only one-thirty-seventh. Expert estimates made for the Government in 1921, after the financial strain of the Great War, put it at about one-fortieth.

The conclusion of Mr Childers and the majority of his colleagues was that Ireland was then being overtaxed by about £2,225,000 a year, and that the amount of overtaxation in the past reached a total of 300 millions. They proposed that a refund on the basis of these figures should be annually made to Ireland. Lord Salisbury's Government did not accept this recommendation, but it was confronted with a demand from all Irish members, irrespective of party, for restitution in some shape. This was met in part by the institution of an annual Grant for the Development of Ireland, which, however, was soon merged into the cost of one great reform—Land Purchase.

Before this, however, came two other steps of importance. Mr Horace Plunkett had from 1889 onwards been endeavouring to promote co-operation among Irish farmers, preaching

that they should look for prosperity rather to concentration on improved methods of agriculture than to lowering of rent. By 1894 co-operative societies were numerous enough to form a central union, the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society. In 1892 the Nationalist dissensions had enabled Mr Plunkett to win a seat in County Dublin as a Unionist; and after 1895, when Home Rule seemed to be out of the question, he endeavoured to unite Irish members in some national project capable of accomplishment. His proposal was that Irish members should form a Recess Committee to consult in the interval between sessions upon economic legislation of a non-partisan character. Mr Redmond, who had become chief of the so-called "Parnellite" group, agreed to serve on this body, but the anti-Parnellites led by Mr McCarthy refused. Mr Plunkett had expressed his belief that if Irish farmers found their material interests well served under the Union they would cease to desire Home Rule; and the scheme was regarded as a bribe. This dissent probably did not lessen the Government's willingness to act on the Committee's recommendation that a special Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland should be established. In 1899 the Bill creating it became law. An annual sum of £166,000 was granted to carry on its work: this was one of the concessions to the demand for financial readjustment. The Act had other and more important aspects. A new ministerial office was created, the Vice-Presidency of the new department—its nominal President being the Chief Secretary. Under the Union, Irish administration had been officially represented in the House of Commons only by the Chief Secretary and the two law officers. The latter were always Irish members, but their concern was with the administration of criminal law—the policy of repression. For all the rest of Irish administration the Chief Secretary was responsible. This minister was always the representative of a British constituency and only by rare exception an Irishman. Irish administration was now further represented by a minister dealing with a constructive department, and the custom was established that he should hold an Irish seat. Irish parentage was not allowed to be a disqualification, as, broadly speaking, it had come to be for the Chief Secretaryship.

Further than this, there was established under the depart-

ment a Council of Agriculture and a Board of Technical Instruction. These bodies had an advisory character, but possessed the power to veto any expenditure of which they disapproved. They were partly nominated by the Government, but mainly by popularly elected bodies created under another important measure of the same period.

This was the Local Government Act, which in 1899 set up county and district councils all over Ireland, on the model of what had been established in Great Britain. It assigned to the Irish people as a whole the power of regulating their local taxation and administration, which hitherto had been vested in the landlords. The control arising from power to evict had already largely passed away from this governing class; they were now deprived by law of the control formerly vested in them by the law. They became now simply ordinary citizens of the country, annuitants rather than landlords, dependent for their chance of power on the voice of the country at large. A few popular and respected members of this class were elected to the councils; but as a rule all elections were made political demonstrations, and Nationalist Home Rulers held all the county and district councils, outside those parts of Ulster where Unionists were in a majority.

All these facts forced a certain number of the abler landlords to review their position. The land question was still paramount. Revision of first-term rents under the Act of 1881 had begun and was leading to new and sweeping reductions as well as to great costs of litigation. Moreover, side by side with this, a new process was at work. As far back as 1885, under Lord Salisbury's brief administration, a very able Irish lawyer, Lord Ashbourne, had carried a small measure of State-aided Land Purchase. Five millions were advanced for the purpose, and five more by another Act of 1887. The purchasing tenant undertook to repay the purchase money and interest, by instalments spread over a period of more than forty years. The results were so satisfactory that in 1891 a further sum of thirty-three millions was allotted to this purpose. In every case the annual payments by which a man acquired absolute ownership were less than the rent which he previously paid. By 1896 more than seventy thousand tenants, holding one-eighth of the agricultural land of Ireland, had purchased on this footing. The result was, not unnaturally, discontent among tenants of any unpurchased

estate which adjoined another where their neighbours were paying less annually and were established as freeholders. This was especially marked in the West upon properties where the tenants were exceedingly ill off, and where landlords refused to sell to the Congested Districts Board for re-allotment. There were local no-rent campaigns, answered by general eviction; and several members of parliament were put in jail. Then came events which altered the whole political situation.

After Parnell's death, Nationalist Ireland was rent in pieces by faction; Parnellite and anti-Parnellite spent their energy in attacking each other; their supporters in the country lost interest and lost heart. Then came the Boer War. Genuine feeling was raised in Ireland at the spectacle of this small people resisting a great power, and Irish members expressing this in parliament expressed also that defiance of England to which Ireland had always responded. Interest in parliamentary proceedings revived, and almost instinctively a union of the two factions took place. The anti-Parnellites under Mr Dillon were over seventy, the Parnellites under ten, but Mr Redmond was chosen to be chairman of the re-united Irish party. It was clearly laid down that he was to be chairman, not leader; he had no free hand. Either Mr Dillon, Mr O'Brien, or Mr Healy was then probably a greater power than he. But his conduct in the chair steadily increased his prestige and his personal authority, and improved the position of the party. On the other hand, Unionism was now a somewhat divided force. The policy embodied in extensions of Land Purchase, and in a Land Act of 1896 which accepted and extended the principles of that of 1881, offended the extreme landlord policy which had now found a spokesman in Mr Edward Carson. This Irish lawyer, who came into prominence as a Crown prosecutor during Mr Balfour's reign of coercion, denounced the Land Bill of 1896, and also the Local Government measure, as acts of betrayal.

During this period the Chief Secretary was Mr Gerald Balfour, brother to the First Lord of the Treasury, and his policy of conciliation, though expressed in wise measures, was hampered by his temperamental coldness. In 1900 he was replaced by Mr George Wyndham, an Englishman, but descended through his mother's side from Lord Edward Fitz-Gerald; he inherited the beauty and charm of the Geraldines

with much of their feeling for Ireland. But neither the Chief Secretary nor the Irish party could break away from the struggle in which the renewed land trouble had locked them, till in 1902 a young Galway squire, Captain John Shawe Taylor, previously quite unknown, set himself to advocate a conference between representatives of the Irish tenants and landlords. By infinite persistence he succeeded in persuading leading men on each side to meet. The landlord organisations refused to send official representatives, but Lord Dunraven, Lord Mayo, Sir Nugent Everard, and Colonel Hutcheson Poe, who consented to act, were known by everyone to represent not only large property but the best brains of their class. The Nationalist party were represented by Mr Redmond, Mr O'Brien, and Mr Harrington, the Lord Mayor of Dublin. Mr T. W. Russell, a Liberal-Unionist who had been one of the most effective opponents to Home Rule, joined them as a representative of the Protestant Ulster tenants. After long discussion, they drew up a report which was in substance adopted by Mr Wyndham in his Bill of 1903. This measure proposed to advance the money needed to complete the purchase of all Irish land. Repayment was spread over sixty-eight and a half years ; it was assumed that the tenant must get an average reduction of 20 per cent. on his yearly payments, and that the landlord could afford to sacrifice 10 per cent. of his gross income for the sake of the extra security. To bridge this gap, a bonus of 12 per cent. on the purchase money was assigned to the landlord, and a sum of twelve millions was voted to cover this grant. It was estimated that one hundred millions would buy out all landlords, and the money was raised by an issue of Land Stock fully guaranteed by the Government. The Act was hailed as an immense boon, and it has proved to be one ; though financial difficulties long prevented the process from becoming complete, general prosperity and marked improvement in agriculture have been conspicuous wherever Land Purchase was carried out.

Those who had worked with Wyndham for a settlement in this great matter of Land Purchase pressed him to carry the process further. One of these was Lord Dunraven ; another, even more influential, Sir Antony MacDonnell, was an Irish Catholic who had held very high office and earned fame in the Indian Civil Service, and who, when Wyndham came to Ireland, became his Under Secretary, a civil servant, yet

rather a colleague than a subordinate. Between these men projects for a partial measure of Home Rule—a control of administration, which came to be called Devolution—was discussed and planned. But as rumours of this grew, a revolt sprang up in the Irish Tory group ; the " rotten, sickly policy of conciliation " was denounced ; Mr Wyndham, thrown over by the chief of his party, was put in the position of declaring that he had acted without warrant ; and he resigned. There was sympathy in Ireland ; but the country was entirely occupied with the first rush of Land Purchase ; and it was quite certain that the Tory party was going to be defeated at the approaching General Election. Mr Long, the new Chief Secretary, had a quiet year of rule ; yet even in his brief career he came into collision with the new movement which was growing up, aloof from and unfriendly to the parliamentary party.

While Parnell lived, his party was one of young men, ardent and enthusiastic, ready for any enterprise or sacrifice. Nearly every man in it went through imprisonment, many of them repeatedly ; they would assuredly have faced the risks of war just as readily. In that temper of the leading men, and of the nation which answered to it while the movement was young and strong, there was a constant gaining of new and brilliant recruits. Several of them were lost in the election of 1892 ; they had adhered to Parnell and were rejected. During the ten years of the split, no man of note joined the Irish party. The mere fact that in most constituencies there was no possibility of opposition made political life stagnate ; a seat became an inheritance. The men of the eighties remained, but they ceased to be young men ; they and the supporters of their own standing grew less tolerant of the young ; and the young were loth to be told that they had never done a hard day's work for Ireland.

Although from the period of the Land Conference the Irish parliamentary movement regained much of its prestige and retained almost unchallenged control of all electoral machinery, it was no longer followed with passion ; it had become a sort of established religion ; the new movements which were springing up beside it were touched with a suspicion of heresy. Two of these were avowedly non-political. One was the co-operative organisation inaugurated by Mr (now Sir) Horace Plunkett, which had now the backing of

his ministerial department. This movement and Sir Horace Plunkett were regarded with much distrust by many Irish politicians ; but whatever their effect on the economic life of Ireland (and it was undoubtedly good), they had little influence in its politics. The Gaelic League, on the other hand, which the parliamentary party always applauded, was the nursing ground of that force which was destined to replace parliamentarianism. Yet this was natural. The movement concerned with Ireland's industry raised questions of economic advantage and of competing class interest ; the other, academic as it seemed, was dealing with matters which forced men to ask what nationality implied, and which reopened the old cleavage that had divided O'Connell from Young Ireland, but in an acuter form.

Up to the seventeenth century the Irish language had always been too strong for English in Ireland ; it gained ground in spite of all the infusion of new English blood. In the seventeenth century, things were probably on a balance ; in the eighteenth, under the penal laws, English was certainly gaining ground ; but till after the Union most of Ireland was Irish-speaking. From that point on, the decay of the native language was rapid, and it was forwarded by two main agencies—the Catholic Church and O'Connell. The great leader and the priests alike were chiefly concerned for their people's material welfare, and O'Connell, though he had spoken Irish from childhood, seldom used it in public, and plainly declared that he thought it a hindrance to Irishmen. Yet more powerful than considerations of material advantage was the fact that Ireland now became used to hear the thought of Ireland expressed, and the cause of Ireland championed, in English. Moore's poetry, whose popularity can hardly be overestimated, helped this tendency. The Young Ireland group and the *Nation* definitely tried to combat it ; but no very serious attempt was made to spread the teaching of Irish. The necessity for saving the language had not yet arisen ; that came with the famine. In the four years, during which Ireland lost almost a quarter of her population, the loss fell mainly on the Irish-speaking districts. After that came the rush of emigration, and there was a new and overwhelming inducement to learn English ; it was the language that would fit Irish boys and girls to earn their living in New York and Boston. Irish emigration had assumed a new

character by the close of the nineteenth century; it was no longer a movement impelled by hunger; all over civilised Europe, town life was draining the country. A knowledge of English was necessary for those who in Ireland sought town life: "America," Douglas Hyde once said, "is Ireland's town."

Hyde was the son of a country rector in Connaught, a natural linguist, who from his childhood had been attracted by the Irish language; at Trinity College he was distinguished by what then seemed a bizarre accomplishment. In 1893 he founded the Gaelic League. In consequence of its work, Irish is to-day as much studied as French in secondary schools and is also taught in most primary schools. The decay as a spoken speech has been in some measure arrested; but English is still in practice the language of Ireland as much as it is that of America. The main effect of the Gaelic League has been political.

It preached, first of all, that to preserve the national language was a national duty, because language was a distinctive mark, an aid to the expression of national character. Extreme advocates held that it was more, the essential expression; that if the Irish language perished, nationality perished with it. All agreed that whatever tended to denationalise degraded, and there was a fierce campaign against anglicisation. It was plainly perceived that in a country where political questions preoccupied the people so much, the mere fact that politics were carried on in English tended to increase the spread and the prestige of that tongue. Since it did not prove possible to carry on political work in Irish, there was a tendency to look askance at all political propaganda. The Irish party were aware of this critical attitude; their sympathy with the movement of a younger generation than Parnell's was incomplete; and the tendency to condemn all association with England as injurious did not fit well with that "Union of hearts" between the democracies of Great Britain and of Ireland which had been held in view since the campaign of conversion undertaken after 1886. The result was a growing estrangement between the old movement and the new; and the new after ten years of struggle began to spread. Douglas Hyde went to America on a campaign in quest of funds, and, coming back in 1905 with a contribution of £10,000, received a public welcome in Dublin such as would hardly have then been accorded to Redmond.

The Gaelic League limited itself to its own objects, which were all concerned with the language—though their scope included the revival of characteristic national sports and the patronage of Irish industries. But whether in the classes for the study of Irish or in the Gaelic Athletic Association, or in the organisation for the sale of Irish wares in preference to British, a recruiting ground was provided for adherents of a new political plan of action. This was what ultimately, though not for some years, became known as the *Sinn Féin* movement.

Its beginnings were, like those of Young Ireland, in journalism ; indeed it was consciously an attempt to revive the spirit and tradition of that earlier group. In 1899, after the centenary of 1798 had quickened interest in earlier revolutionary movements, Mr Arthur Griffith founded his paper the *United Irishman*, which either was or became the organ of an association conducted for propaganda, not for profit. Its policy only gradually became defined, but as it took shape, opposition to the accepted leaders was evident. The parliamentary party still looked to action in and through parliament as the main purpose ; Ireland could supply a driving force, but it was directed to parliamentary action. The new plan proposed to disregard parliament altogether, to send no members there, but to concentrate effort on Ireland itself. It was justified by an account of the Hungarian movement led by Deák, through which separation from Austria was obtained. Mr Griffith always set before Ireland as the attainable end a restoration of the parliament of 1782, with such alterations in the constitution as would change the United Kingdom into a dual monarchy, with the Crown for its sole link.

This proposal was a compromise. The parliamentary party demanded a parliament in Dublin with an executive responsible to it, but were willing to admit that the British Parliament should, at all events at first, retain considerable powers over Irish finance and full power over Irish defence. On the other hand, the Fenian organisation still existed and its aim was still an Irish Republic, to be achieved by physical force. Mr Griffith set aside the possibility of success by physical force ; he preached resistance to taxation, a boycott of British goods, and generally an organised passive resistance which should render government impossible.

The movement spread among the more educated young

men and women, but it had no popular success. In 1905, when Sinn Féin was definitely established as a political organisation, parliamentary tactics had assumed a new interest and at last promised a result.

At the end of 1905 a General Election swept the Tory party completely out of power, and returned a House of Commons with a huge majority of Home Rulers. But certain leading Liberals—Mr Asquith, Sir Edward Grey, and Mr Haldane—in their desire to get a decisive verdict against the Chamberlain proposals of Protection had pledged themselves to be no party to introducing a Home Rule Bill in this parliament. They had in truth been converted to the policy which Mr Wyndham and Sir Antony MacDonnell had favoured, of introducing Home Rule by instalments. Redmond agreed to countenance them in this attempt, and he led Ireland to expect much from the measure which was promised for 1907. The Bill for establishing an Irish Council, when introduced, gave an Irish elective body considerable control over administration, but none over legislation or finance. It did not empower the Council "to pass a single bye-law or to strike one penny rate."

The Liberal Ministry by their action, for which the Prime Minister Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman was not responsible, had placed Redmond in a terribly difficult position, and his action in it was the great mistake of his career. Anxious to get at least something, he went into discussion of the Bill, and though he failed to bring it into a shape likely to win approval, he had pledged himself to allow it to be submitted to an Irish Convention, and he refused to reject it at once when introduced. But opinion in Ireland was strongly expressed, and at a National Convention held in Dublin he himself moved that the Bill should be rejected on second reading. It was dropped at once.

The Liberal party's refusal to deal with Home Rule was due to the certainty that any such measure would be rejected by the House of Lords. They had only postponed that conflict.

Two measures of moment to Ireland were passed in the parliament of 1906–10. The first was the Act establishing a National University. This comprised the colleges at Galway and Cork with a new college set up in Dublin—which in effect took over the remnants of the old Catholic University

that had for a long period been maintained by the Jesuits. Queen's College, Belfast, became a separate University.

The National University was so constituted as to have a Catholic atmosphere, though it had no religious test and no publicly endowed school of theology. But it was fully accepted by the Catholic hierarchy. Dr Walsh, the Archbishop of Dublin, became its first Chancellor ; and it had a considerable, though frugal, endowment. The Gaelic League now for the first time made itself sharply felt. Public agitation demanded and obtained that no student should be allowed to matriculate without a knowledge of Irish.

Students flocked in. University College, Dublin, soon rivalled Trinity in numbers, and in the quality of its teaching. But there was little provision for social academic life. In effect, the undergraduate had no social life other than that of a political club ; and the ideas which prevailed in these centres of young men and young women were increasingly those of Sinn Féin. England had postponed Home Rule, but had financed an academy of separation. The Irish party prided themselves, and with justice, on having secured this long-desired measure. Yet few things contributed more to their ultimate defeat in the country.

A second measure which profoundly affected the social life of Ireland, and Ireland's political status, was the Old Age Pensions Act. The Liberal Government in passing it never calculated how it would work out in the sister country. Few had realised how immense a proportion of the aged in Ireland had less than ten shillings a week to live on. No one had realised that owing to the constant drain of emigration, taking away the able-bodied, and to the fact that Ireland's population had been reduced by one-half in sixty years, there were among the Irish an unusually large proportion of children and old people. Old-age pensions in Ireland increased expenditure by a million and a half per year. The Insurance Act, again designed for English conditions, added another half-million to the cost of Irish services, and in 1910, for the first time since the Union, more money was spent in Ireland by the United Kingdom's Exchequer than the Exchequer received from Ireland in revenue.

Yet of all the Acts of this parliament, that which chiefly affected the Irish question had no reference to Ireland. In 1907 the Liberal Government conceded to South Africa the

full freedom possessed by Australia and Canada. It was done against the opposition of the Tory party, and the complete failure of all their dismal predictions as to its result led England at large to draw a conclusion as to the Irish question, on which the same persons and the same party offered the same resistance on the same grounds to the same principle.

Finally, in the close of 1909, the House of Lords by rejecting Mr Lloyd George's budget offered the Liberal party a chance to try conclusions with it. Redmond was placed in a difficulty, for the budget had proposals which hit Ireland hard ; but he insisted that the unlimited veto of the hereditary House was the true obstacle to Home Rule, and he threw his support behind the Liberals. The result was a parliament with Tories and Liberals practically equal in number—the Labour party and the Irish together making a majority of one hundred and twenty for Government's programme, which was to abolish the power of veto in the Upper House and to introduce Home Rule. The constitutional struggle was fully engaged when the death of King Edward produced a new crisis. Attempts to bring about agreement by conference having failed, a new General Election was held at the close of the year ; it virtually reproduced the same distribution of parties. In 1911 the Act was carried which declared that if the House of Commons carried a Bill in three successive sessions, the right of the Lords to reject it should cease at the third passing.

In 1912 the new Home Rule Bill was introduced, and an acute struggle began, which in its varying phases was to last ten years, and be ended by the abolition of the legislative Union.

CHAPTER XLIV

THE END OF THE LEGISLATIVE UNION

The detail of the three Home Rule Bills now concerns only professed students of history ; but some idea must be given of the scope of these measures. All three reserved to the Imperial Parliament control of all military and naval matters, and also the power of fixing and collecting customs and excise ; they maintained, that is, both the strategic and fiscal unity of the United Kingdom. These features of the relation were designed to be permanent. All three, also permanently, excluded certain subjects from Ireland's right to legislate : the Crown, war or peace, titles, treason, coinage, and navigation outside Ireland. Finally, all three proposed that for a period the Imperial Government should control and pay the police. The period, from ten years in 1886, came down to six in 1912.

This was a very different kind of autonomy from that which Australia and Canada possessed. Temporary reservation of the police indicated a plain intention that the parliament should start in leading-strings. But the vital limitation was that of fiscal power. All the dominions possessed unlimited control of taxation. Ireland's main taxes were to be fixed for her by an outside parliament, in which under the Bill of 1886 she had no members. It was then argued, justly, that this was taxation without representation. In 1893 Gladstone originally proposed that Ireland should have eighty members, but that they should only vote on subjects affecting Ireland. It proved impossible to define these subjects, and therefore by an amended clause the Irish members were to vote on all subjects. It was argued then that Irish members could interfere on English matters, while English members could not touch Irish matters, except on the budget. No logical way was found out of this diffi-

culty, and the Bill of 1912 proposed that Ireland should retain members at Westminster, voting on all subjects, but that they should number only forty—half the number due on a basis of population : thus one injustice was balanced against another.

Plainly, then, the relation contemplated between Great Britain and Ireland was different not only from that between Great Britain and the oversea dominions, but that which existed in the eighteenth century. Parnell, speaking on Gladstone's Bill of 1886, said : " We have always known that this is a subordinate parliament, that it is not the same as Grattan's parliament, which was co-equal." He added that he would have preferred the restitution of Grattan's parliament. But his acceptance was unequivocal. " We look upon the provisions of this Bill as a final settlement of this question. . . . As far as it is possible to accept a measure cheerfully, freely, gladly, and without reservation as a final measure, I say that the Irish people have shown that they have accepted this measure in that sense."

There is nothing in this attitude irreconcilable with Parnell's often-quoted phrase : " Let no man seek to set bounds to the onward march of a nation " ; for, in fact, no nation can bind its own future, no parliament its successors. But the disposition of Ireland and of its leaders was accurately represented. Parnell himself, before the Commission in 1889, said : " I have never in thought or action gone beyond the restitution of our legislative independence." In 1893, Redmond, speaking as the leader of the small Parnellite group, much more independent and critical of the Government than the larger body of Nationalist members, thus defined his position : " We mean by Home Rule a Government which would be consistent with the supremacy of this (the Imperial) Parliament and with our position in the Empire, a National Government with something of the pride and the honour attaching to a National Government and a National Parliament." He said again in 1907 on the Irish Council Bill : " What we mean by Home Rule is a freely-elected Irish Parliament with an executive responsible to it. What we mean by Home Rule is that in the management of all exclusively Irish affairs, Irish public opinion shall be as powerful as the public opinion of Canada or Australia is in the management of Canadian or Australian affairs."

These were the aims of Ireland as expressed at successive moments in the Parnellite movement. Essentially, the purpose was to get self-government going; but it was to be self-government within the Empire. Moreover, all three Bills which Irish leaders accepted contained provisions of a temporary character. A period of transition was provided for; and beyond doubt, both British and Irish politicians, knowing the history of parliamentary government within the Empire, regarded the whole constitutional framework proposed as a thing in which there must be development and change. This provisional character was most marked in the Bill of 1912, as a consequence from the altered financial relations between the two countries.

Since the amalgamation of the Exchequers in 1817 taxation in Ireland had increased heavily, but gradually, with the exception of one huge leap occasioned by the budget of 1853, which raised the contribution per head from 14s. in 1850 to 26s. in 1860. In 1860 about two and a quarter millions of Irish revenue was spent in Ireland, and the balance, over five and a quarter millions, went to Imperial purposes. From 1870 remedial legislation began, and by 1890 five millions a year was being spent on Ireland; but there was still a margin of over two and a half millions for Imperial expenditure. By 1905, when the Tory rule ended, Irish expenditure was up to seven and a half millions; but taxation had been increased, the advancing prosperity of the country yielded more revenue, and the Imperial contribution was still two millions. Then came in the Liberal Government with its policy of social reform, which undertook to remedy poverty at the cost of the general taxpayer. Old Age Pensions, National Insurance, and Labour Exchanges were costly experiments, not devised for Ireland, but applied to it as part of the United Kingdom. By 1912 the Irish expenditure was estimated at over twelve and a quarter millions. Irish taxation, identical with that of Great Britain, yielded under eleven millions. There was an estimated deficit of a million and a half. In other words, when Ireland was offered the chance of self-government, English rule had rendered Irish finance bankrupt.

This is not to say that Ireland was unable to pay for self-government. As compared with other small nations, ten millions was an ample revenue from which to meet its needs.

But Great Britain insisted, as part of the Home Rule compact, that all persons appointed under British authority should be continued in their employment or highly compensated. It was necessary therefore to maintain an enormously expensive police force, prison staff, judiciary, and so on, until lapse of time should make it possible to replace them more cheaply. Great Britain accordingly proposed in 1912 a system of what was called contract finance. Ireland, instead of raising revenue proportioned to her administrative needs and aims, was given a fixed sum per annum, to do the best she could with it.

Administration was divided into two categories: Irish Services, which were then assigned to the Irish Government, and Reserved Services, still managed by the British Government. Taxation was to be fixed and collected by the Imperial authorities, who were to pay over to the Irish Exchequer from the proceeds the estimated cost of running the Irish Services at the period of transfer, plus a sum by way of surplus which was to begin at £500,000 and dwindle to £200,000. The arrangement was to last till the yield of Irish taxation covered the cost of all Irish services, when the whole financial relations between the two countries were to be revised. This, in consequence of the war, happened a great deal sooner than anyone expected.

It will be seen that the Home Rule Bill of 1912 gave Ireland very little financial freedom. Certain powers of varying taxation were conceded, but they were trivial. On the other hand, Ireland was to get its public services at some two millions less than their annual cost, and was receiving a surplus as well. Ireland for the sake of freedom, England for the sake of economy, would have desired to terminate this relation as soon as possible.

The Bill, thus limited and complicated in its provisions, was, like previous Home Rule Bills, denounced by its opponents as a measure of separation. But it commanded a majority in the House of Commons independent of the Irish vote; and it had been made, along with the Bill for Welsh Disestablishment, the test question between the two Houses. If the House of Commons could not pass the Government of Ireland Bill into law, the Parliament Act was a dead letter. Ireland had pushed the Liberal party on to destroy the veto; that measure was regarded by the Tory party as a revolution, and

their opposition to Home Rule in principle was only a part in their determination to defeat the Parliament Act, which deprived them of the advantage in the Constitution that arose from their control of the Upper Chamber.

This entanglement of Irish with British affairs at Westminster was now about to display its disastrous consequences.

There is no need to recount all the arguments by which the Home Rule Bill was resisted, nor to describe the elaborate machinery of obstruction which delayed its passage. The essential fact was that it would pass, unless the alliance between Liberals, Labour, and Irish could be broken, or unless the operation of the Parliament Act was resisted by some means other than voting. Both these objects were sought by exploiting the opposition of Ulster, which had now become the sole real obstacle to the passing of Home Rule.

Appeal was made to the principle of self-determination—though the word was not then invented. It was represented that there were two nations in Ireland ; and that one of them, settled principally in Ulster, desired to remain under the Imperial Parliament no less strongly than the other desired Home Rule. These people, it was said, were loyalists whom the British Government proposed unjustly to cast out from their citizenship of the United Kingdom, and to put as a minority under the control of another and alien population whose ideals were detested by loyalists and by Protestants.

The rest of Ireland resented this contention as blasphemy. There was only one Ireland, and all Irishmen were part of the Irish nation. Nevertheless, the argument had an element of historic truth. Ulster Protestants, it was true, regarded themselves as Irish. But in the eighteenth century, as has been already seen, the Irish nation of which Swift and Lucas and Flood spoke, and for which they claimed independence, meant the Protestant people of Ireland — those heirs of successive confiscations to whom Lord Clare in 1800 addressed his advice. The Irish Protestant nation had accepted Union at a sacrifice of legislative independence to maintain Protestant ascendancy. The position of Ulster Protestants was not historically different from that of the Protestant Irish in other provinces, and Sir Edward Carson, who became leader of the Ulster group, belonged by birth and education to the south of Ireland. But, owing to the operation of Franchise Reform, Land Reform, and Local Government

Reform, Protestant ascendancy had disappeared everywhere except in Ulster. In Ulster it remained as a fact of nature, because Protestants had a majority of the population. This was the reality of the situation. When Ulster said in reply to any suggestion of Home Rule "We won't have it," they meant that they would maintain Protestant ascendancy where it still existed. The English public in general did not understand this; they were told that Ulster was indissolubly attached to that government from Westminster, which Ulster, like the rest of Protestant Ireland, had been either dragooned or bribed into accepting. But Mr Lloyd George, then the driving force in British Liberal politics, was a Welsh peasant, and understood the attitude of a Protestant peasantry towards Roman Catholicism; and he believed that Protestant Ulster would employ methods of resistance which Englishmen had ceased to contemplate in their political life. England at large, however, and Ireland at large, did not take seriously the threats of unconstitutional action which began to be used from the first year of the struggle.

An aspect of the Irish question here needs to be emphasised. Vast multitudes of the Irish had carried overseas their traditional aspirations for the country which they left. Those who belonged to the old inhabitants of the island had poured into the United States; the Irish Protestant population, if it emigrated, made generally for Canada or Australia. In Australia, Catholic-Irish emigrants more than balanced the Protestants, yet the strife between Orange and Green distracted Australian politics. In Canada, Protestants greatly preponderated, and the presence of a Catholic State, Quebec, tended to keep the Orange faction organised and active. In 1912 the leader of the Tory party in Great Britain was Mr Bonar Law: the son of an Ulster emigrant to Canada, he had been brought up with Orange sympathies strongly developed. This accident gave Sir Edward Carson a powerful ally, and brought into English politics an element which was not English. Mr Bonar Law was in advance of his party when in July 1912 he declared: "There are things stronger than parliamentary majorities. I can imagine no lengths of resistance to which Ulster will go in which I shall not be ready to support them." Sir Edward Carson, following him, stated that arrangements were being completed "for making Home Rule absolutely impossible." "We will shortly challenge

the Government," he said "to interfere with us if they dare."

Action had already begun in Ulster. At the end of June a Protestant excursion party, mostly of school children, was broken up with some small hurt to the children by another excursion party of Catholics. As a reprisal, all Catholics were violently driven out of the Belfast shipyards ; some two thousand men were denied access to their work. This, however, was not adopted as part of the regular campaign, which began by the signing of a Solemn Covenant throughout Ulster. The signatories pledged themselves to use "all means which may be necessary to defeat the present conspiracy to set up a Home Rule parliament in Ireland." It was made difficult for any Protestant in Ulster to refuse his signature to this document.

The rest of Ireland meantime was urged by its leaders to adhere strictly to constitutional methods. A vast meeting in the open air at Dublin in March 1912 filled O'Connell Street from end to end ; and among the speakers on the various platforms were Patrick Pearse and Eoin MacNeill, both of whom, speaking in Irish, gave support to the acceptance of a Home Rule Act. Pearse made it clear that he had never rendered, and never would render, allegiance to the King of England. Yet his advice was "Let us unite and win a good Act from the British. I think it can be done. But," he added, "if we are cheated once more, there will be red war in Ireland."

The year 1912 ended and still the Bill was not through the House of Commons. On New Year's day 1913 Sir Edward Carson formally proposed that the province of Ulster should be struck out of the Bill. Redmond in reply declared this a measure which would for all time mean the partition and disintegration of one nation. "To that we as Irish Nationalists can never submit."

The Bill passed its last stage by a majority of 110, and was defeated by ten to one in the House of Lords. To overcome this veto, Government must remain in office to carry the same Bill through the Commons in the sessions of 1913 and 1914.

In 1913 Ulster Covenanters, who had been openly drilling, began to arm. Large consignments of rifles were arrested in transit, and others no doubt got through. One of the arrested consignments was addressed to the Lieutenant of

a border county in Ulster, who was also an officer in the army. No steps were taken against him. Government, with the approval of the Nationalist leaders, had decided not to use coercion. This decision was pushed very far. It was known that the Covenanters, like the Fenians, were spreading their organisation into the Army—though, unlike the Fenians, chiefly in the officer class. Nothing was done to prevent this.

In September it was announced that an Ulster Provisional Government had been formed with a military committee attached to it. Parades of armed bodies began to be described in the newspapers. The political effect was unmistakable. Liberal statesmen were moved to throw out suggestions pointing in the direction, either of partial exclusion of Ulster, or of giving to Ulster a local administrative autonomy.

It was inevitable that there should be a movement to counter-challenge the appeal to force. The actual beginning lay in a section outside the general body of Nationalists. A great strike began in Dublin on 26th August 1913, under the leadership of Mr Larkin, and was prolonged for five months, till starvation ended it, without settling any of the grievances under which Labour in Ireland suffered. In the course of this struggle Mr Larkin announced that he would follow Sir Edward Carson's example. A large body of the strikers were organised into a "Citizen Army," to preserve the rights of Labour. This sectional organisation was soon swept into a larger one, yet without losing its separate character. At the end of October 1913, Professor Eoin MacNeill, Vice-President of the Gaelic League, published an article in the official organ of the Gaelic League calling for the formation of a Volunteer Force. A provisional committee was formed, and at a meeting in the Rotunda in November the movement was launched. Thousands were at once enrolled. Most of the committee and a great part of the volunteers enrolled were outside the constitutional party; but the avowed object was to "give Mr Redmond a weapon which will enable him to enforce the demand for Home Rule."

Within less than a month after the starting of this counter-movement, Government issued a proclamation which prohibited the importation of arms. Ireland saw in this a readiness to interfere with Ireland's arming which had not been shown when Ulster was in question.

The parliamentary leaders meanwhile expressed themselved neither for nor against the new movement. Redmond's leadership throughout all this period was exercised only in consultation with a sort of cabinet consisting of Mr Dillon, Mr Devlin, and Mr T. P. O'Connor; Mr O'Connor being mainly an adviser as to the trend of British opinion. Redmond would have been very slow to act against the decisive judgment of either Mr Dillon or Mr Devlin, and certainly would not have acted against them combined.

By the beginning of 1914 it was recognised on all hands that the situation had grown menacing; and when Mr Asquith in February introduced the Home Rule Bill for the third time he suggested a basis of agreement. This was that any county in Ulster might by vote exclude itself for a period of six years, and remain under rule from Westminster. Redmond accepted this, and was vehemently denounced for doing so by Mr O'Brien and the small group of dissentient Nationalist members. Much feeling was excited in Ireland, and it is difficult to say what would have happened had Ulster accepted the offer. But Ulster rejected it on the ground of the time limit, on which Redmond insisted; and the Liberal Government now threatened to put down by force Ulster's preparation for armed resistance. Troops were ordered to move north from the Curragh; according to the statement of General Gough, then commanding the cavalry brigade, officers were told that the object was "to undertake active operations against Ulster"; and, instead of an order, a choice was put before them. Either they were to undertake these active operations or to leave the Army. General Gough with fifty other officers resigned.

This incident caused a violent commotion in England; the resignation of the Secretary of State for War and the military heads of the War Office followed. Mr Asquith himself took charge of the War Office, and tranquillity was for a moment restored. Then came the first act of open rebellion. A large force of Ulster Volunteers seized the ports of Larne and Donaghadee and imprisoned policemen and custom-house officials, while large cargoes of rifles were being landed and distributed through the province by an army of motor cars. This stroke was hailed by the whole Tory party as a victory. Redmond now decided that there was no alternative but to show force against force, and he appealed publicly to his

supporters in Ireland to join the Irish Volunteers. Up to this the country had hung back; now the Volunteers increased by 15,000 a week and soon passed the Ulster numbers. But they were not armed.

Also, whereas Sir Edward Carson and his colleagues had full control of the Ulster Volunteer Force, the Irish Volunteers were an organisation out of contact with the parliamentary leaders at a most critical time. Negotiations were begun to secure a measure of control over the Volunteers. They ended in the creation of an unwieldy and inharmonious committee of control, half of whose members were named by Redmond. Eight members of the original committee, headed by Pearse, seceded. This marks the first break between constitutional and physical force men.

A month later, on Sunday, 26th July, a cargo of rifles was landed at Howth and met by a body of Volunteers, who marched back to Dublin carrying them. News reached Dublin Castle, and the Assistant Commissioner of Police turned out all the police he could muster, asked for and obtained the assistance of a company of soldiers, and with this force stopped the Volunteers on their way back to Dublin. There was a collision, two or three men were slightly wounded and some rifles seized. The troops marching back to Dublin were hooted and pelted, till at last, though in no danger, some of the rear rank turned and fired into the crowd, killing three persons and wounding thirty. The contrast between all this and the entire immunity of Ulster's avowed rebels was sharply felt, even in England. But before any action could be taken concerning this matter, European war had virtually begun.

It found the dangerous controversy between the parties and between the two Houses of Parliament still unsettled; Ireland, furiously exasperated by the events of 26th July, and, moreover, divided on the question of the Volunteers; Ulster armed and menacing, confident in a well-grounded assurance that the British forces, whether of army or navy, would refuse to act against Ulster Volunteers.

On Monday, 3rd August, Sir Edward Grey announced to the House the invasion of Belgium and the ultimatum from Great Britain. Redmond, acting on his own initiative without consultation, assured the Government that they might take all their troops out of Ireland; the Irish Volunteers would defend the country. "For that purpose," he said,

" the armed Catholics of the south will be only too glad to join arms with the armed Protestant Ulstermen. Is it too much to hope that out of this situation a result may spring, which will be good, not merely for the Empire, but for the future welfare and integrity of the Irish nation ? "

This unexpected utterance was greatly applauded by all parties in England, and was well received in Ireland, where feeling ran strongly against the Germans, and for the French and Belgians. It elicited, however, no response from Ulster. Sir Edward Carson went to the War Office and offered to raise a division from his Ulster Volunteers if they might be recognised as a distinct Ulster division, and select their own officers. This was willingly granted by Lord Kitchener, who had become Secretary of State for War. Offers of assistance in recruiting from Redmond he received politely ; but he had, it is clear, not the least intention of complying with Redmond's wish, that he should give recognition, equipment, and training to the Irish Volunteers. This would have been in his opinion to arm rebels. He was also very loath to accept the project of a distinctively Irish division as a counterpart to that conceded to Ulster, and its raising was delayed and hampered by the War Office.

Mr Asquith did not succeed in forcing Lord Kitchener to do what would have strengthened Redmond's hand. Nor again did he act with any promptitude in regard to the Home Rule Bill. Had the war not begun, the Bill must have become law under the Parliament Act. Redmond insisted that effect should be given to this consequence ; but the Tory party denounced this as a breach of the political truce. Finally a compromise was reached. The Bill was to become law ; but its operation was deferred till a year after the end of the war. A pledge was also given that coercion should never be used against Ulster. This meant, practically, that Ulster should never be forced by Great Britain to submit to Home Rule.

On this basis, the Home Rule Act received the Royal assent on 18th September. By Statute Ireland was henceforward entitled to a parliament of her own, with a ministry responsible to it. The legislative Union was, in theory, ended. There remained, however, under the Act, even in theory, a fiscal union, and, for certain purposes, a union of administrations ; while, in fact, at one of the most critical periods in

world history, Ireland, with its right to self-government recognised, remained completely under control of the Imperial Parliament until peace should be restored.

It should be remembered that at this time Lord Kitchener's prediction that the war would last three years seemed fantastic. The average man believed that the operation of Home Rule was simply delayed for a year or so ; and many were ready to accept Redmond's faith that, after a period in which Irishmen from north and south were fighting in the same cause, Home Rule might well be started under happier auspices than had seemed possible.

But there was a section which refused from the first to adopt this view. Redmond, who realised that too much time had been already lost, instantly after the Act was passed called on Irish Volunteers to take their place in the allied ranks in Flanders. Immediately those members of the Volunteer Committee who had never been in thorough agreement with him denounced this as a proposal " to take foreign service under a Government which is not Irish." Twenty of the original committee signed this manifesto ; and the Volunteer organisation was split. The great majority of the rank and file, perhaps nine-tenths, followed Redmond, and were nominally reorganised as the National Volunteers. But the real work from Redmond's standpoint was now being done by those who went out of Ireland to serve ; the National Volunteers as such were not seriously utilised. They might have been, and would have been, had the War Office agreed to recognise them as a defence force. But in this, as in all details, the War Office met Redmond's effort with stupidities, which, said Mr Lloyd George in 1917, " sometimes almost looked like malignancy." On the other hand, those who controlled the Irish Volunteers had to consider none but themselves ; and they concentrated upon making their body of men a reality.

Redmond had, however, one great advantage. He had a clear policy, while those who opposed him belonged to various minor groups, and their aim was as yet undecided. Yet he had by his action given them a rallying point, first, in the refusal to serve, and the determination to resist compulsory service ; secondly, in the will to maintain the Irish Volunteers as an active organisation.

The importance of Sinn Féin may be said to date from

this moment. Mr Griffith's paper had from 1906 onward ceased to be the *United Irishman* and become *Sinn Féin*, the organ of a party preaching abstention from parliament, and action in Ireland, chiefly by passive resistance. The party had conspicuously failed to win any electoral support outside of Dublin, where it returned some members to the Corporation. In 1908, when Redmond's prestige was badly shaken over the Council Bill, a member of his party adopted the new faith and resigned his seat, but was heavily beaten when he stood as a Sinn Féin candidate. From 1912 onward Mr Griffith had given general adhesion to the attempt to win Home Rule ; but the tone of his paper was certainly not calculated to inspire confidence in the parliamentary leaders. When in February 1914 Redmond agreed to temporary partition, *Sinn Féin* was loudest in its denunciations. Now it declared that the Home Rule Act with its suspended operation was a mere trick, and went into furious opposition. Mr Griffith was the ablest journalist among many who flooded Ireland with a series of publications, the main purport of which was to represent England as Ireland's true and permanent enemy, and Germany as no enemy but a possible ally. Paper after paper was suppressed, but the propaganda went on.

Yet while war was made on opinion, Government took no steps to suppress the Irish Volunteers. For this immunity Ireland had to thank Ulster. The Ulster Volunteers, indeed, after war had begun made no parade of their existence ; but they were there, and they retained their arms. Beyond doubt, the War Office regarded them as a reserve force for the Irish garrison in case of rebellion, and had no desire to see them disarmed. The Liberal Government, on the other hand, was not prepared to take measures to disarm the southern section of Volunteers alone ; it was hampered by its past tolerance of rebellion from 1913 onwards.

Yet from the early period of the war Redmond upon the whole carried Ireland with him. Nationalist Ireland sent very large contingents to the army, and many leading Nationalists took a hand in the work of recruiting. The first sharp check came with the formation of a Coalition Government, which included Sir Edward Carson. After this, in the latter part of 1915, there was open interruption of recruiting meetings, and throughout the winter the Irish Volunteers displayed increasing activity. By this time the varying

groups had merged and had reached a determination to use physical force not merely for resistance. The prolonged failure of the Allies, and Germany's spreading victories, were cause enough to foster this determination ; the chief personal factor was probably Sir Roger Casement, a man of European reputation, who in the years before the war had thrown himself into the propaganda of physical force in anticipation of that European conflict which his position in the British diplomatic service enabled him to foresee. He had been closely concerned with the formation of the Volunteers ; at the outset of the war, he went at once to America, whence he opened communications with Germany, and, later, went to Berlin. The German authorities naturally did their best to encourage revolt in Ireland, but Casement gradually became aware that Germany would not spare an expedition to assist it. In Ireland, the Irish Volunteers organised with increasing boldness for resistance to conscription, which they expected. An inner ring, however, was determined on open rebellion, and Easter 1916 was fixed as the date. Russian rifles were purchased in Germany with money supplied by American extremists, and a ship was chartered to land them in Kerry. The plan was kept secret from all but a group of leading officers. Casement, however, learnt it, and persuaded the Germans to send him to Ireland ; but his purpose was to prevent what he regarded as a hopeless rising. On Good Friday he was put on shore from a submarine near Tralee, and was arrested almost by accident. That same day the ship with the rifles was seized ; the British Navy had information. Meanwhile knowledge of what was intended had reached Professor MacNeill, then head of the Irish Volunteers, and he sent messages through the country to countermand all movements ordered for Easter Day. But in Dublin two sections of the insurgents determined to disobey. One was the Citizen Army headed by James Connolly ; the other was a Dublin battalion of Volunteers led by Pearse. On the Monday small bodies of armed men made their way to selected points in the city and seized them. The attempt on Dublin Castle miscarried ; but the Post Office in O'Connell Street had been selected as the centre of operations, and Pearse with his company seized the building, ran up the green, white, and orange tricolour, and proclaimed the Irish Republic.

There were also insignificant movements in Counties

Wexford, Galway, and Louth, and a sharp fight in County Dublin. But in the capital, operations were serious. Fighting lasted till the end of the week, and when it was over, five hundred people had been killed, and a great part of Dublin destroyed by fire. The rebellion took Ireland by surprise and was generally and indignantly condemned; its suppression was hailed with general relief. It had, nevertheless, fulfilled exactly the purpose with which it was designed.

Two elements came into it. One was represented by the Citizen Army, a band of working men, recruited in a town where the conditions of labour were abominable and where the great strike of 1913 had ended in a failure that left nothing but brooding anger. War had brought to Ireland at large a wave of prosperity; but to the towns, except the great industrial centre of Belfast, nothing but war-prices for food. No serious attempt had been made by the Government to distribute the employment occasioned by the vast manufacture of munitions in such a way that Ireland should get its share; Ireland was obliged to send her people to Great Britain to seek this employment; in Dublin, men still were short of work, and no corresponding rise in wages had followed the rising cost of necessaries. Irish labour was desperate, and at the head of this band of desperate men was a revolutionary idealist, James Connolly, who had been the brain behind Larkin's personal power. Connolly believed as profoundly as any man in Europe in the nationalisation of all national resources; and he had communicated this faith, it would seem, to Pearse. But he had taken from Pearse the cult of nationality—which enjoined the supreme sacrifice. Neither the Citizen Army nor any other section of the Easter rebels fought for any sectional interest. "We went out," said one of them, in the debate which led to the founding of the Irish Free State, "to wake up Ireland," and they went out expecting not to win, but to die.

Pearse, son of an English railway-worker who had married an Irish-speaking woman from Connemara, was brought up in his mother's country, and was first known to Ireland as editor of the Gaelic League's official paper. His first work was thus identified with a movement which regarded as essential for Ireland's well-being the maintenance of a language which in the opinion of most men was a practical disadvantage. From the first a preacher of the necessity to preserve what has

no demonstrable material value, he gave up his paper to found a school in which Irish should be the main means of instruction. To regenerate a language or a people, he held, you must begin with the young; and his school of thirty or forty pupils became an amazing centre of influence. But the more he taught, the more his thought concentrated on that of which the Irish language was to him the expression—Ireland's national being. "Nationality is a thing that men will die for," an Irishman had said. It was a long time since anyone had been asked to die for Ireland. Home Rule had come to be preached as a question of common sense; support of the parliamentary party was demanded on the ground of the material advantages which the Parnellite movement had brought to Ireland. These were unquestionable. The main possession in Ireland was the land, and since Parnell's day the Irish people had become owners of the greater part of Irish land, not at a competitive price, but at a bargain so fixed that whoever bought land through State purchase paid instalments lower than the judicially fixed "fair rent." Prosperity had spread; the magic of property had worked wonders. It was argued often that Ireland prosperous would be Ireland contented, and not concerned about her system of government. There grew up in Pearse's mind, and he conveyed to others, the essential need of a blood-sacrifice. When Ulstermen took up arms in 1913 he welcomed the example; it was worthy of Irishmen. Then came the war; Irishmen who refused to fight "in a foreign army" were taunted with cowardice. Pearse held that unless Ireland's claim to freedom was asserted at the price of blood, Ireland's national claim would cease to be. Whether he hoped that once the standard was raised all Ireland would join, may be doubted; it is certain that he persuaded his followers that if the example were set, if they laid down their lives for Ireland, Ireland's national existence would be once more asserted and saved.

Results have given him full justification. Yet it may be doubted whether his attempt would have been successful had it been otherwise met. The actual losses of the rebels in Easter week were small in comparison with the casualties to the citizens at large. Of the leaders only Connolly was wounded. The British Government, however, completed Pearse's work for him. Entire control of the situation in Ireland was handed over to a soldier, Sir John Maxwell,

who, arriving after Pearse had surrendered at discretion and the fighting was over, proceeded to execute fifteen persons, by batches, after secret court-martial. No evidence was published ; most of the names were unknown to the country at large.

The Government to which Sir John Maxwell was responsible included not only Sir Edward Carson, but Mr Bonar Law and several other politicians who had given to the organisation of rebellion in Ulster all possible countenance and support. Everyone in Ireland knew that without the Ulster Volunteers the Irish Volunteers would never have come into being. The treatment given to Ulster governed the whole question for Ireland, and the first wave of feeling was a bitter anger against injustice. Pearse and his colleagues were regarded as martyrs, the victims of an unjust Administration inspired by hatred of Ireland, long before they were generally accepted as champions of Ireland's liberty.

The effect of the executions was enhanced by the arrest of some 3000 persons on suspicion, very many of whom had neither connection nor sympathy with the rebellion. These were swept for the most part into a concentration camp at Frongoch in Wales, which became a complete academy of what was now universally called Sinn Féin.

Yet Pearse had never been a Sinn Féiner. He stood for a Republic : Sinn Féin for the dual monarchy ; he for physical force : they in the first instance for passive resistance ; and Mr Griffith, author of the Sinn Féin movement, had taken no part in the rising and had advised against it. But because he and his policy represented the largest body of those Irish Nationalists who opposed the Irish party, and who declined to regard Germany as an enemy, the name Sinn Féin began to be applied to all ; while resentment against the methods of repression drew all who did not follow Redmond into one body of support for whatever means might seem most effective to strike at English power.

In England, the Easter rebellion had the same result as the Fenian rising ; it stirred British statesmen to a sense that something must be done. Mr Asquith came over to Ireland, and as a result reported to the House his conviction that the existing machinery of Irish government " had broken down," and that " a unique opportunity existed for a new departure for the settlement of outstanding problems." Mr Lloyd

George was asked to negotiate an agreement between the Ulstermen and Redmond's party. After long discussion, terms were reduced to writing which each party agreed to submit to a representative body of its supporters. The terms proposed that a provisional government should be at once set up in Ireland to work the Home Rule Act; but that six Ulster counties should be left out. They were accepted by Sir Edward Carson's following and by the Nationalists of Ulster; but when this unexpected result was reached, two matters became clear: first, that the document submitted was capable of two constructions, and that Sir Edward Carson had received assurance that his construction would be accepted, according to which the exclusion of Ulster was not temporary but permanent, so long as Ulster chose. The second, and even more surprising, discovery was that Mr Asquith's cabinet would not agree to the terms made by Mr Lloyd George with Mr Asquith's concurrence. On this, the whole negotiation broke down. Redmond, who desired to bring Home Rule into being, was the loser; Sir Edward Carson, whose whole purpose was to prevent Home Rule, had won.

Yet Redmond was effectively barred from any action to hamper the war ministry. By this time many thousands of the men who had enlisted at his call were actually in the line; the Irish division came into general action on the Somme in September; the Ulstermen had been in the first push made there two months earlier. In that autumn and winter the two divisions (16th and 36th) held the line side by side, south of Ypres, while preparations were made for the assault on the Wytschaete ridge, to which they advanced side by side in the following June, 1917. It was one of the most successful and least costly operations of the war; but the Irish leader's brother, Willie Redmond, a veteran of the Nationalist party, fell in the advance, where he was probably the oldest man engaged. He had come to be the typical figure of those Irishmen who put Redmond's policy into practice; and his death affected public feeling so far that it gave a touch of hope to the new effort which was being made to appease Ireland.

The change in Ireland's temper had been first demonstrated in February 1917, when Count Plunkett was returned at a by-election as a Sinn Féiner against the Nationalist candidate for County Roscommon. Count Plunkett's son, a young poet, had been one of the seven signatories to the Republican

Proclamation in Easter week, and had been executed along with Pearse. This was the first time that Sinn Féin won a parliamentary election, and this was why Sinn Féin won it.

Stronger motives than Irish discontent pushed the Government to seek an Irish settlement. America had indeed come into the war ; but the executions after the Easter rising had roused a violent anti-British feeling which was held to hamper President Wilson's Government in prosecuting the war. In May 1917, on a suggestion transmitted from Redmond, an Irish Convention was proposed in which Irishmen should endeavour to settle their differences between themselves.

Sinn Féin, whose growing power had been evidenced by a second electoral victory, this time in County Longford, at once denounced the proposal as a mockery unless it could be altered in two vital respects : first, that the Convention should be elective ; second, that parliament should agree to accept whatever form of constitution and whatever degree of independent power the Convention by a majority might demand for Ireland. Failing the conditions which it laid down, Sinn Féin decided to take no part in the Convention and to treat it as a device to keep Irishmen talking and to placate America.

Nevertheless, Government went on with its proposal, and much interest was aroused in Ireland. There was a public demand that to create a better atmosphere all Sinn Féin prisoners should be let out. One of them, Mr de Valera, who had taken a leading part in the Dublin rising, was at once selected to contest the seat in Clare vacated by Willie Redmond's death. He was returned by a majority of five thousand. A few weeks later an election in Kilkenny produced a similar result. Evidently, unless Sinn Féin took part in the Convention, the Convention did not represent Ireland.

When the assembly met and chose Sir Horace Plunkett for its chairman, hope revived. The chances of success, however, were very limited. The Convention had no power to do anything but recommend ; its members were not appointed to their post by the electorate, yet they did not feel themselves free to act entirely on their own discretion. The Ulster members came with a definite pledge not to agree to anything which had not been sanctioned by the Ulster political association ; and it is at least doubtful whether this body desired that the Convention should reach unanimity.

There was, however, an influential group representing Irish Unionist opinion outside Ulster which was prepared to advocate large powers of self-government; and Redmond, after the discussions had lasted six months, saw nothing better than to unite the Convention, exclusive of the Ulstermen, in proposals for an Irish Constitution. He failed because the Unionists, led by Lord Midleton, would not agree to demand complete fiscal autonomy; and a large section of Nationalists, led by Dr O'Donnell, the Bishop of Raphoe, regarded this demand as essential.

It was therefore possible for Mr Lloyd George, now Prime Minister, to declare that Irishmen had failed to agree and that nothing could be done for them. At this moment Redmond, after a short illness, died broken-hearted. Within a fortnight after his death, and before the Convention's Report had been formally presented, the great German advance began, and the line in France was broken. Mr Lloyd George, because he felt it necessary to introduce a new measure of conscription calling on men in Great Britain up to fifty years of age to serve, thought it necessary also, for the first time, to attempt to extend conscription to Ireland.

The fact that this had not been done before is notable. Mr Asquith was careful never to disavow the Imperial Parliament's legal right to deal with Ireland exactly as with England in this matter. But undoubtedly also Englishmen felt that Ireland had now an admitted right to self-government; that its postponement was merely a matter of convenience; and that in no self-governing country could this ultimate impost, the blood tax, be exacted without consent of the local government.

The effect of proposing conscription was to unite all parties in Ireland in a policy of resistance by "whatever means should seem most efficacious." This was really the end of constitutionalism. It was also the beginning of a demonstration that sums could be levied from Ireland by a native authority, having no legal sanction, on a scale never dreamt of before. The fund raised to resist conscription was a levy rather than a voluntary contribution, and it reached a quarter of a million.

Finally, supreme demonstration was afforded that in the last resort resistance was better than argument. Conscription was carried in parliament, but was never put into applica-

tion in any parish of Ireland. The entire credit for the success of resistance, although the constitutional party had joined in organising it, was given to those who had declared constitutionalism bankrupt.

This success gave Sinn Féin an amazing degree of confidence. When the war ended, they promised with assurance that Ireland's claim to independence must come before Europe. At the General Election held in December 1918 Sinn Féin's candidates demanded in effect a mandate from Ireland to the Peace Conference. Their victory was overwhelming. The old Nationalist party was virtually blotted out. Out of one hundred and five Irish members, seventy-three were pledged against attending parliament at Westminster, and had declared for the Irish Republic proclaimed by Pearse. The decision was taken that, in pursuance of the policy long advocated by Mr Griffith, which had become the programme, Irish members should assemble in Ireland and proceed to act as a legislature. To carry out the Gaelic League's principles, the assembly thus constituted was to be called Dâil Eireann ; Irish was used as far as possible in its debates, and in all its ceremonial procedure. It met for the first time on 21st Jan. 1919. All members returned for any Irish constituency were by that fact entitled to attend. The roll-call of the first meeting included all their names ; but no Unionists attended, nor any of the eight remaining representatives of the old Nationalist party.

The oath of allegiance taken was to Saorstat na-h Eireann —which was translated into English, The Irish Republic, but is more literally rendered, The Free State of Ireland.

From that date, the legislative Union may be said to have ended. Irish members still were in name members of the Imperial Parliament ; but in practice an overwhelming majority refused to sit at Westminster, and transferred their attendance to an Irish Assembly, whose decrees rapidly acquired more actual force, and from the first had more moral authority in Ireland, than any law passed by the Imperial Legislature which had governed Ireland since the Act of 1800 destroyed Grattan's parliament.

CHAPTER XLV

THE BIRTH OF THE IRISH FREE STATE

FROM the time in 1917 when the internment camp at Frongoch was broken up and its inmates liberated, Mr de Valera became the outstanding figure in what was now generally termed Sinn Féin. In the summer of 1918 he, along with several hundred others, was again arrested for alleged complicity in an alleged "German plot"—the existence of which has never been clearly demonstrated. He was in prison when the elections took place in December of that year; indeed, most of the candidates elected were in prison or in exile, and when the roll was called at the first meeting in the Mansion House only twenty-seven were present. The public proceedings were largely formal, and were conducted entirely in Irish. A provisional constitution for the Irish Republic was proposed; a message to the free nations of the world was read, and also a democratic programme for the new State. The next meeting was held in private; a ministry was formed, and Mr de Valera was chosen as President of the Irish Republic.

The British Government, faced with this demonstration, decided to ignore it. Mr Lloyd George was hampered if not bound by the precedent of complete toleration allowed to Ulster's Provisional Government by a ministry in which he was the second man. On the other hand, Dáil Eireann at first did nothing to provoke a conflict. Attention in the early part of 1919 was fixed on the Peace Conference, and many Irishmen outside of Sinn Féin regarded a reference to this external tribunal as the least unhopeful chance of bringing peace to Ireland. A large body of Irish ex-officers, headed by the general who commanded the 16th division, petitioned for this; General Gough, leader of the so-called "Curragh Mutiny," supported their claim: this distinguished Irish soldier was one of many whose ideas had been

profoundly modified by the war. These representations were later backed by an influential delegation of Irish-Americans, men who had rendered valuable service to President Wilson's Administration. All were alike ignored. Yet the terms to which Great Britain agreed in December 1921 gave to Ireland at least as much as the Peace Conference would have been likely to recommend ; and in the spring of 1919 they would have found a very different reception, especially in one quarter. At that period, sectarian differences in Belfast had come near to reconcilement. The fraternisation between Irish soldiers in the Irish divisions had been reflected in their homes ; moreover, in the stress of war work Catholics had become numerous in the shipyards. Labour in Belfast had begun to regard itself as Labour, not as Protestant and Catholic. Early in 1919 a great strike took place in Belfast ; the strike chairman was a Catholic artisan, and concessions as to hours were won which humanised life for the workers. This struggle was followed by municipal elections in which for the first time a strong Independent Labour group was returned to the Belfast Corporation. These men were Protestant artisans, but they had no irreconcilable opposition to Irish Nationalism.

Nor was there then anything in the state of the country to alienate Protestant opinion. Crime was rare. The exciting incidents were cases of jail-breaking. Mr de Valera with two others escaped from Lincoln Prison early in February 1919 ; shortly after, a whole batch of prisoners scaled the wall of a prison in Dublin. There were, however, frequent raids for arms, and troops began to suffer from them ; Republicans with revolvers contrived to hold up the guard at an aerodrome and carry off seventy rifles. But the policy of armed resistance was at this time expressly disavowed by the leaders of Sinn Féin.

Government having consented to release the men interned for supposed complicity in the " German plot," Mr de Valera was free to appear publicly in Ireland, and in April an Ard Fhéis or Convention of Sinn Féin was held, of which organisation he now was elected to be head ; Mr Griffith, its former President, becoming Vice-President. Mr de Valera declared that Dáil Eireann's position, as representing Ireland, was " that of the Belgian Government towards the German army of occupation." The Sinn Féin organisation was to act as

"a sort of civil army to carry out the decisions of Dáil Eireann's cabinet." Part of this involved a sort of taxation. Appeal was made to Ireland for a quarter of a million, which the Sinn Féin organisation would collect, for Dáil Eireann to administer. All this, however, led by inevitable logic to armed force. The British Government might affect to regard Dáil Eireann as a masquerade, and Mr de Valera as a figure of comic opera; but for many determined persons in Ireland there was now an Irish Republic in open being; for a much larger number, Dáil Eireann's ministry was an Irish Government with a right to command their obedience; for the majority of the Irish people, it was an authority whose mandates they feared to disobey. Dáil Eireann's loan, issued in due form with interest-bearing bonds, was represented as an enforced "benevolence," like that of the Stuarts. Dublin Castle was pressed to make the collection illegal; and persons were arrested for taking part in the work. This led to attempts at rescue, carried out with unsparing violence. In May an armed escort of police was attacked at Knocklong Station, in Tipperary, and the sergeant shot dead.

It soon became clear that the constabulary made a point of friction where flame would break out. British power rested on armed force which, according to Mr de Valera, was too strong to be challenged, like that of the Germans in Belgium. But the police, according to the reasoning of the Republicans, were not British soldiers; they were Irishmen, who assisted the foreign power to pick out those who worked for Dáil Eireann. Since there was an Irish Republic, these Irishmen were traitors to it, actively supporting the enemy; and they deserved execution.

This reasoning was not at once accepted. The Knocklong shootings and the subsequent murder of a police officer, shot from behind in a crowd at Thurles, were strongly condemned by the Archbishop of Cashel. But as months went on, the killings grew more frequent, the immunity of the attackers was complete, since no one would give evidence. Some of these deeds of blood were evidently naked murder, unless the public chose to regard them as ordered execution. Others, where there was an attack on an armed patrol, might be described as ambushes of one armed force by another. In either case, no justification was possible without pre-

supposing an organisation which had a right to pass sentence of death. In September of this year, however, an incident of a new type occurred. A dozen men armed with revolvers and clubs attacked a detachment of eighteen English soldiers at Fermoy on their way to church, killed one man and carried off all the rifles in three motor cars. The road was blocked against pursuit by a prearranged felling of trees behind the cars. In this case public opinion, was obliged to express itself, and a coroner's jury refused to find a verdict of murder. Government under this provocation proclaimed Dáil Eireann as a dangerous association, and ordered Sinn Féin to be suppressed over a great part of Ireland. The result was to drive agitation completely under ground, thus throwing Ireland into the hands of secret societies, and to multiply the murder of policemen. These acts were still denounced by priests, but were repeatedly defended by the coroner's juries, who refused to find verdicts of murder. Ultimately it became usual to declare that a policeman so killed " died from bullet wounds while bearing arms on behalf of an alien and enemy Government " ; while any assailant killed in these affrays (as occasionally happened) " died fighting for the freedom of his country." In short, a state of war was by Irish public opinion assumed to exist.

The effect was, first, that the police force came to have for its chief object the protection of itself and its arms. Constables were forbidden to go about singly ; the garrisons of small barracks were withdrawn and the force concentrated in larger ones ; thus large areas were left without any effective police control. A second result was that policemen, finding themselves treated as wolves, turned savage. In January 1920, after the shooting of a constable in Thurles, his comrades broke loose from discipline and wrecked several houses. In March a much graver thing happened. In Cork, after several policemen had been killed, the Lord Mayor, Alderman McCurtain, was murdered by a body of men in his own house at midnight. There is every reason to believe that this was done by a section of the police in the city, but that, when this act of reprisal was first discussed, a number of the men refused to have any hand in it. No conclusive evidence, however, was produced ; and for this, as for the killings of policemen, no one was made amenable. Lawless savagery spread over the country, and could not be restrained.

Since the summer of 1919 Mr de Valera had been on a mission to America, partly to collect funds ; and he succeeded in raising a loan of several million dollars. But his main purpose had been to bring about American intervention. Sinn Féin, having failed to secure outside pressure from the Peace Conference, was confident that one party or other in the United States would, as the price of the Irish vote in the approaching Presidential election, pledge itself to recognition of the Irish Republic.

Meanwhile the British Government was confronted with the necessity of taking some steps about the Act of 1914, which by law should come into operation within a year after the end of the war. There was still technically war with Turkey : but clearly action was overdue. In December 1919 Mr Lloyd George outlined the provisions of an Amending Act, which was necessary, first, to fulfil the promise made to Ulster ; and secondly, to meet the altered financial situation. Ireland, which in 1914 yielded a revenue short of Irish expenditure, now contributed some twenty millions of a surplus to the Imperial exchequer.

The essential point about the new Bill was that it proposed to set up two parliaments in Ireland. All Ireland was to become self-governing ; but Ulster—now defined as Northern Ireland, consisting of six counties—was not to come under the Dublin parliament. The powers of the two parliaments were to be identical and separate. But there was set up a nucleus of union between them, in a rudimentary Council of Ireland, with power to administer matters of railway management and to pass private bill legislation in any project which affected both Irish areas. To this Council the parliaments of Northern and Southern Ireland could transfer, if and when they pleased, any of the powers, or all of the powers, entrusted to them.

Northern and Southern Ireland were to continue to send representatives to Westminster. The Imperial contribution was fixed at eighteen millions a year, of which eight were to be paid by Northern Ireland. The annuities from land purchase were to be collected by the Irish governments, and were returnable to them ; and since they reached a total of over three millions, the net Imperial contribution was under fifteen millions a year, to be readjusted later.

Ulster accepted this proposal and undertook the task of

self-government ; the rest of Ireland rejected it, with scarcely a dissentient voice. Sinn Féiners based their objection chiefly on the ground that the Bill did not give enough powers ; Nationalists opposed it chiefly because it established partition, and partition on an unjust basis. Two of the six counties, Tyrone and Fermanagh, had a Catholic and Nationalist majority. Derry, the second city in Ulster, had returned a Nationalist member in 1914, and in 1918 under the new franchise it brought in a Sinn Féiner by a large majority. Further, when discussion of the measure began seriously, there was a movement among Unionists to include all Ulster in Northern Ireland. This was definitely rejected by the Ulster Unionist Association. The Protestant majority in the province was so narrow that an alliance between Catholics and Labour might upset the traditional holders of power. Six counties represented the limit over which they considered themselves able to maintain Protestant ascendency unshaken.

The importance of this Bill, which became an Act in the autumn of 1920, is that it changed the shape of the Irish question. There was no longer any party in Ireland that demanded continuance of the legislative Union. Ulster's demand was, first, that Ulster (defined as six counties) should remain within the British Empire ; second, that it should not come under a Dublin parliament.

The introduction of this Bill did nothing to quiet the country. Some effective steps indeed were taken for the restoration of order ; but not by the Government. When the police were withdrawn, petty theft began to spread. Sinn Féin instituted its own police, and their working gave general satisfaction. In the west, land hunger broke out, cattle were driven off ranches, and farms were seized : here again the Sinn Féin police, or rather detachments of what began to be recognised as the "I.R.A." (Irish Republican Army), stopped the anarchy. But it was recognised that the suspension of land purchase, which had become complete, created a danger, and Sinn Féin courts were set up which gave judgment in disputed land claims. A good many estates were sold in this way, and, unlike the official courts, Republican tribunals secured cash down to the seller. Sinn Féin began to be praised in quarters that were in no way friendly to it.

Moreover, elections for the county and district councils occurred in June 1920, and Sinn Féin, carrying them all over

the country, now secured control of the machinery of local government, which had previously been in the hands of old-fashioned Nationalists. These circumstances together put the new movement at the highest point of success which it was destined to attain : and in the following month Mr Lloyd George expressed publicly his willingness to negotiate with any persons who could speak for the main body of Ireland, upon the basis of giving to Ireland full self-government within the Empire, provided that the strategic unity was maintained and there was no coercion of Ulster.

But Sinn Féin at this time was probably too confident of decisive American intervention to consider a compromise ; moreover, passions were loosed. At the end of June rioting broke out in Derry, and not only revolvers but rifles came into play between two sections of the population evenly balanced in numbers. After a week, quiet was restored by mutual arrangement established between the Ulster and the Irish Volunteers. But in the south trouble was going from bad to worse, and the murder in Cork of Colonel Smyth, an Ulster-man, was made the pretext for an organised attack on Catholics in Belfast. Workmen were driven from their employment, people from their homes. A month later another officer was murdered in broad day, this time on Sunday morning among church-goers at Lisburn, within six miles of Belfast : there was renewed rioting, and nearly all the Catholic houses in Lisburn were burnt down. The rest of Ireland answered these attacks, which had left over ten thousand Belfast Catholics homeless and resourceless, with a general boycott of goods coming from Belfast. This was decreed as a war measure by Dáil Eireann's cabinet, and an elaborate service for carrying it out was instituted.

In the meantime it was clear that the constabulary was breaking down under the strain put on it : and Government had nothing else to rely on except its troops. Of moral authority it retained no shred. Ulster was a law to itself ; yet the expulsion of Catholics in Belfast would probably have gone much further but for the restraint exercised by troops. Outside of the six counties, Sinn Féin included the majority of the people. Nationalists of the old school held that Home Rule should have been established long before, and would have been established had the British Government dealt fairly with Ireland ; they also would do nothing to support

the rule of Dublin Castle. Finally, the small but important element of Protestant landowners, professional men, shopkeepers, and farmers, most of whom had been Unionists in the past, realised that, whatever happened, the Union was ended ; if they were to live in Ireland, it must be under a Government of the Irish people. In every previous crisis of agitation this class had been ready to assist suppression of revolt among the old inhabitants of the island. Now they stayed passive. Raiding for arms had grown so common that scarcely one in ten of them applied for permission to retain his gun, but handed it in at the nearest police barrack. Thus disarmed, and feeling themselves forced by the Government's policy to disarm, they were not likely to signalise themselves for attack by giving information that might assist troops.

Sinn Féin, on the other hand, had the enthusiastic support of many ; and for those who did not wish to support it, it had the authority of fear. It was incomparably more feared than the British Government.

If, then, the British Government was to retain any semblance of authority in Ireland, it must make itself more feared than Sinn Féin. There is no other answer to the resistance of an insurgent people when a Government has completely lost that people's confidence. But to establish complete military control meant from the nature of the case the employment of a very large army. No Government in suppressing a rebellion can regard the entire population as hostile. All in Ireland were theoretically British subjects, the Government's own people ; and scattered through the mass of Sinn Féin was a large number of persons friendly to the Government, especially the property owners. In an enemy country, these would have been the natural persons to seize as hostages ; in the circumstances, they were virtually hostages in the power of Government's opponents. It was therefore not possible for the British Government to use its force effectively in punitive measures against the population.

Government, however, believed at this point that the people actively opposed to them were not the population at large, but a small minority of lawless persons who in many cases were known to the police, but could not be convicted for lack of evidence. They decided, therefore, to adopt a policy of striking directly at these persons, without any nice regard for the legality of their procedure. The police force was

largely reinforced by new recruits, men who had served in the war. These could not all be clothed at once in the dark constabulary uniform, and wore a mixture of khaki with it ; and the first consignment of them being sent to Tipperary, were promptly called after a famous Tipperary pack of hounds, the Black-and-Tans. Later, a special force consisting solely of ex-officers was recruited for despatch to districts where there was special emergency. These were called the Auxiliaries.

There is no means of knowing what instructions were given to this new type of police ; but the results indicate that they considered themselves commissioned to intimidate by all means those whom they considered bad characters. Up to August 1920 reprisals had occurred in some cases, but they were plainly no part of a policy. From the enlistment of the Black-and-Tans onwards, attacks upon police were regularly followed by burnings of houses, and frequently by the taking out of persons and killing them. It became a common practice to report that such persons had been shot while attempting to escape. The doctrine of " killing no murder " was now adopted on both sides ; though it was constantly disclaimed by the Government, their police continued to act upon it. In one instance, however, the reprisals were so flagrant that facts could not be denied. A head constable was shot in a public-house at Balbriggan ; when news reached the neighbouring depot at Gormanstown, the men turned out in Government lorries, raided Balbriggan, bayoneted two men to death, and burnt over £100,000 worth of property.

Troops had little part in this campaign of outrage against outrage, murder against murder ; it was between the police and the Republicans. The institution of reprisals led to a huge increase in the killing of policemen. Atrocious deeds were done on both sides, and in one act of " reprisals " so much of the city of Cork was burnt down that the loss equalled that of Dublin in the Easter week rising. Apart from their action against Sinn Féiners, the new police were in several cases convicted of robbery under arms, and two were hanged for murdering with intent to rob.

Opinion in England was much moved by the proof which steadily accumulated, in spite of ministerial denials, that the agents of the British Government were employing methods of repression incredible in this age. Another very different

incident also profoundly affected feeling. Terence McSwiney, the young Lord Mayor of Cork, who had succeeded to the murdered McCurtain, was arrested, and went on hunger strike as a protest. Eleven others in Cork joined him. The ordeal was prolonged for over eighty days, to the world's wonder; ultimately Mr McSwiney died, others died also, and the strike was called off, but none doubted that all would have gone to the end with it.

Ireland, on the other hand, was weary of the suffering in a war which had too many incidents of which no Irishman could feel proud. Moreover, another great disillusionment had succeeded to that of the Peace Conference. Both parties in America had refused to be identified with the cause of insurgent Ireland. The moment was ripe for negotiations, and Mr Lloyd George opened them through an Irish-Australian ecclesiastic, Archbishop Clune, whose services in forwarding the enlistment of Australians for the war had given him full claims on the confidence of the British Government. Mr de Valera was still in America; but by this time Mr Michael Collins, an ex-Civil servant, who had come to Ireland to join the Easter rising, was recognised as the driving force in Ireland's resistance. He has since then declared that the British Government were all the time willing to go as far in concession as a year later, but they had some reason to believe that the fighting force of Sinn Féin was weakening, and they demanded surrender of arms as a condition. On this, the negotiation broke down. Ireland was plainly in a state of guerilla war. In the first three months of 1921, 500 persons were killed, of whom about one-third belonged to the Crown forces. This daily toll of blood, horrible though it was, appeared trivial to a world jaded by the Great War; and it required the stimulus of wholly different ideas to affect developments. This, unlikely though it seemed, was provided by the Home Rule Act.

Its operation began in April, and with it came a new Administration. By the Act it was now possible, for the first time since the fall of James II., that the Viceroy should be a Catholic, and Lord Fitzalan replaced Lord French of Ypres. This was a clear proof that the idea of a Protestant Union was ended; and probably this change had more effect than was noted. Lord Fitzalan, as a leading Catholic, could reach influences hitherto little accessible.

Moreover, the actual working of the Act, and even the preparations to defeat it, gave a new bent to men's minds. Elections were held in April. In Southern Ireland none were contested, and Sinn Féin returned one hundred and twenty-four of its nominees. Trinity College sent in four members of a different type, pledged, however, to accept the new order. In Northern Ireland every seat was keenly fought, and Ulster Protestants, under the new leader, Sir James Craig, succeeded beyond what was expected, winning forty out of fifty-two seats; of the remaining twelve, six went to Sinn Féin, six were won by the Nationalists. But Nationalists and Sinn Féiners had agreed in advance not to attend the new Northern, parliament.

Nevertheless, there was now an Ulster Government in being, with a ministry appointed; and its hold on the six counties was shown to be very strong. Moreover, Mr de Valera had in the course of the elections made an offer to Ulster which, if made at the time of the Irish Convention, would have produced an agreement; he proposed for the northern province self-government within a self-governed Ireland, like that of Quebec in Canada. But feeling between Ireland and Ulster had been terribly embittered in these years by the expulsion of the Catholics, by the boycott of Belfast—which had gravely damaged Belfast's distributing trade at a time when its manufactures were in deep depression, —and generally by deeds of blood on both sides. Belfast was in no humour for appeasement. Yet the first words that led to a truce were spoken in Belfast. English opinion, expressed powerfully by the Archbishop of Canterbury, demanded that some steps should be taken to end a condition of things which was disgraceful to England. The result was seen when on 22nd June the king came over to open the Northern Parliament. His speech was an appeal for reconciliation, and it was well received in both countries. The Southern Parliament was summoned for 28th June, and it was already certain that, as actually happened, no one would attend but the four members for Trinity College. A clause in the Act had provided that unless half the members should take their seats, Crown Colony government should be established. But on Monday, 27th June, there was published a letter from Mr Lloyd George, addressed to Mr de Valera and to Sir James Craig, inviting both to come to London, with

such supporters as they chose, and enter into a conference in the spirit of the king's speech. The Prime Minister of Northern Ireland immediately accepted; Mr de Valera delayed, and finally answered that he saw no way to reconciliation if the British Government continued to "deny Ireland's essential unity and set aside the principles of national self-determination." He added that he was "seeking a conference with certain members of the political minority in this country." His invitation to a meeting at the Dublin Mansion House was addressed to Sir James Craig, whose position as Prime Minister of a constituted State it ignored, and who therefore refused to attend. But it was sent also to Lord Midleton, leader of one group of Southern Unionists; to Sir Maurice Dockrell, who had won a seat in a Dublin suburb; to Sir Robert Woods, senior member for Trinity College; and to Mr Andrew Jameson, eminent in the Dublin banking world, who had been a leading person in the Convention. These gentlemen accepted, and parleys lasted for several days. Suddenly Dublin, which had for more than a year been under curfew, and for months had been the scene of incessant street skirmishes with bombs and revolver fire, learnt with rejoicing that a truce was agreed between the British and the Republican forces.

Mr de Valera went to London, and long parleys between him and Mr Lloyd George took place; but Sir James Craig was no party to them. On 15th August the British Government published its offer. This proposed that Ireland should "assume the status of a Dominion," subject to six limiting conditions. The first was that the Royal Navy should control the seas around Ireland and Great Britain, and have such harbour and coastal rights in Ireland as were "essential for naval purposes"; the second, that Irish territorial forces should be limited in proportion to the British; the third, that Great Britain should be entitled to establish stations in Ireland for Air Forces; the fourth, that recruiting depots for Irish regiments in the British Service should still be maintained. After these strategic conditions came two financial ones: that reciprocal free trade should be maintained between Ireland and Great Britain, and protection mutually barred; and that Ireland should accept liability for a fair proportion of the United Kingdom's debt, to be determined by "an independent arbitrator appointed from within His Majesty's dominions."

These were proposals wholly different in kind from the Home Rule Bills, which gave only limited powers and reserved vital functions in the State; and it was not less significant that Mr Lloyd George proposed to embody these "conditions of settlement between Great Britain and Ireland" in the form of a Treaty. A Treaty, though needing subsequent acceptance by the British and Irish parliaments, recognised that the United Kingdom had resolved itself again into two units, between which a covenant could be made.

There was published at the same time Mr de Valera's reply, dated 10th August, written after consultation with his cabinet, which declared that they could not "urge upon their people the acceptance of such proposals," because complete self-determination was not recognised, and there was claimed a right "of interference in our affairs and a control to which we cannot submit."

On 17th August Dáil Eireann, consisting of all Sinn Féin members elected for Northern and for Southern Ireland under the Act of 1920, met for the first time. Many of its members were released from jail to be present. After prolonged debate in secret, it confirmed the rejection of the offer. There followed an exchange of public letters between Mr de Valera and the Prime Minister with a view to reopening negotiations: Mr Lloyd George seeking to exact as a condition that Ireland should accept the principle of inclusion within the Empire; Mr de Valera, that Ireland's status as an independent Republic should be recognised in advance. Finally, both claims were in effect dropped; but it was made plain repeatedly by Mr Lloyd George that no settlement was possible which recognised Ireland as separate. Under these conditions five representatives of Dáil Eireann were appointed: Mr Griffith, Mr Collins, Mr Duggan, Mr Barton, and Mr Gavan Duffy; and conferences in London began on 11th October. A notable incident threatened to interrupt them. The Pope conveyed to King George his prayers for the attainment of a successful result; the king in acknowledging it expressed his desire to see peace established "among my people." Mr de Valera, on the publication of these messages, issued a reply to the Pope which in effect complained that the Pope's action had prejudged the issue, and assumed that the king was entitled to regard the Irish as his subjects. But negotiations proceeded, and finally on 6th December a treaty was signed.

It did not define the powers assigned to Ireland. The first clause laid down that " Ireland should have the same constitutional status in the Community of Nations known as the British Empire as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa." The next two clauses laid down that the Free State's position should be defined specially by reference to the usage in regard to Canada. By the fourth clause the oath of allegiance to be taken was formulated.

Certain important provisions concerned the strategic and financial conditions. The Navy was to undertake the defence by sea of Great Britain and Ireland, and was to have control of certain specified harbours in time of peace, with complete control of the coast in case of war. The conditions as to maintaining recruiting stations was dropped; facilities for air defence were limited to points connected with the harbours of which control was reserved. Also, the naval control was only to last until an arrangement should be made " whereby the Irish Free State undertakes her own coastal defence." Thus the Irish Free State became the sole authority in Ireland having control of a land force; and the prospect of an Irish naval force like that possessed by other Dominions was contemplated. In finance, Ireland was left absolutely as free as the Dominions. Liability for a share of the debt was accepted, but the arbitrating authority was instructed to take into account " any just claims on the part of Ireland by way of set-off or counter-claim "; a provision under which the whole issue of the past financial relations could be raised.

The other main matter was the question of Northern Ireland. Ireland as a whole was recognised as the Free State; but a clause laid down that after the Act embodying this Treaty had become law, the parliament of Northern Ireland should have a right, upon presenting an address, to be excluded from the Free State. In that case the six counties would retain their position as under the Act of 1920, with their own local parliament of limited powers, and with representation at Westminster. If, however, they decided not to sever themselves from the Irish Free State, they would retain their local parliament; but the powers over the six counties which belonged to the parliament at Westminster would pass to the parliament of the Free State. In any case, therefore, local autonomy was preserved to Northern Ireland.

But a clause was added that, if Northern Ireland decided to cut adrift from Ireland, a Commission should be set up to " determine in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants, so far as may be compatible with economic and geographic considerations," what should be the boundaries of Northern Ireland.

The terms of the Treaty were welcomed by almost the entire press of Ireland ; and surprise was general when Mr de Valera proclaimed his dissent. The Dáil was summoned, and in it the adoption of the Treaty was moved by Mr Griffith, and opposed by Mr de Valera. Opposition turned mainly on the abstract question of accepting allegiance and inclusion within the Empire. It was said that the Treaty had been concluded under duress ; and two of the signatories declared that they had only signed because they were told that the alternative was immediate war. Many members of the Dáil also held that they had been returned as Republicans, and had no right to go back on their pledge. But resolutions from a large majority of the County Councils and other local bodies made it appear that the country at large desired acceptance.

Ultimately, on 7th January 1922, Dáil Eireann voted for ratification by sixty-four votes to fifty-seven. Mr de Valera resigned office, and Mr Griffith was elected President in his place. A meeting of the Southern parliament was then convened by Mr Griffith, and attended by those Sinn Féin members who desired ratification, and also by the four members for Trinity College. A Provisional Government was formed under the leadership of Mr Collins, to which on 17th January, without ceremony, the Lord-Lieutenant handed Dublin Castle and all its appurtenances. Military evacuation began with the withdrawal of the new police, the regular troops followed ; barracks were taken over by the Republican army. The military occupation of Ireland by British soldiers was at an end.

There was, however, a strong party in Ireland, headed by Mr de Valera, which maintained that Ireland was still under coercion, retained within the British Empire by threat of war. Certainly, war was represented as inevitable if Ireland persisted in asserting complete independence, which Great Britain persisted in regarding as secession and not as a return to the natural order of right. Certainly also, almost all

members of the Dáil who voted for ratification of the Treaty declared their preference for complete separation, and accepted the Free State as a stepping-stone which could be used to achieve the fuller freedom.

In view of these facts, a section of the I.R.A., convinced that they had obtained a victory in the military sense over England, refused to accept the compact. Their leader was Mr Rory O'Connor, an engineer, who formed them into an organisation. Acts of mutiny in Munster, where the Republican feeling was strongest, came near to bring about civil war: but Mr Collins shrank from the necessity. He was probably aware that the larger number, and the more efficient of the Republican fighting men, were disaffected, and he was not ready to form an efficient force at once to support the Treaty by the available means. Ireland was full of ex-soldiers of the European war, and officers of high rank and competence offered their services. All such offers were refused; but men from the ranks were accepted in growing numbers.

There was, further, the difficulty as to carrying out a general election, which under the Treaty must be held. Griffith and Collins, knowing that the majority was with them, eagerly desired to get the popular verdict: Mr de Valera was equally anxious to prevent it. An Ard-Fheis or assembly of Sinn Féin was held, at which the Collins Government only escaped defeat by agreeing to postpone the election. Meanwhile the mutineers in the army were deliberately adding to provocation in Ulster, and a furious vendetta between Protestant and Catholic raged in Belfast. In other parts of Ireland Protestants became the objects of attack. There was a definite attempt to provoke British armed intervention, in the hope that both sections would unite to oppose it.

In April, Rory O'Connor and his partisans seized the Four Courts in Dublin and entrenched themselves there. From this headquarters army orders were issued. Yet a date for the elections was fixed in June, and President Griffith expressed firm determination to use all powers of the State to put down disorder. Then suddenly Mr Collins announced that, by a pact reached with Mr de Valera, a panel of joint candidates arranged between the Treaty and anti-Treaty parties would be put forward: and a joint appeal to the country called for their unopposed return. But Labour

representatives were already in the field ; candidates representing a Farmers' party, and other independents, determined to go on. In several constituencies it was considered impossible to have a conflict for fear of violence ; but where elections went through, the Republicans were decisively beaten. The country showed in the plainest way its desire for peace and the Treaty.

Just when the meeting of the newly elected Dáil was due, the mutineers seized a general of the Free State army in Dublin. An ultimatum was sent to them, and on Wednesday, 28th June, bombardment of the Four Courts began. Civil war spread. For about two months it was between bodies of troops : by October it had passed into guerilla fighting. But the Free State had lost its two leading men : Griffith died on 12th August; ten days later Collins was killed in a skirmish. Mr Cosgrave, who had acted as deputy for Griffith, was chosen President, and while a state of war still prevailed, the new Parliament met on 10th September to begin its business of drafting a Constitution which should give effect to the Treaty. This work was completed by the end of November, and in December was passed in identic form by the British Parliament. The Constitution was in many points the result of agreement reached in advance by the British and Irish representatives. But the Dáil itself decided for adult suffrage, and for powers of referendum and initiative to the electorate. It adopted a two-chamber system, the Senate of sixty members having power to delay any measure passed by the Dáil for twelve months, but no further. The principle of a party administration was modified by the law that whereas the Executive Council of not more than seven or less than five ministers should go out of office if the Ministry lost the Dáil's confidence, certain other ministers, chosen by the Dáil itself, not necessarily from within the Dáil, should hold office for the duration of Parliament, and have individual, not collective, responsibility.

The office of Viceroy was replaced by that of Governor-General, as in the Dominions : and a man of wholly new type, Mr T. M. Healy, was chosen to fill it.

This first single-chamber Parliament of the Free State lacked a regular opposition. Republican deputies refused to take the oath enjoined by the Treaty. It carried rapidly a good deal of urgent legislation, notably a Land Act which

completed the operation of land purchase and transferred all agricultural land in the twenty-six counties to its occupying owners. But it had also to sanction very strong measures taken by the Government to enforce order. The guerilla war had assumed the same forms as the war against British police, with this difference that it had no willing support from the population. Yet till November Government could not decide whether to treat the acts of such a campaign as crime or legitimate warfare. Then, however, a military proclamation was issued declaring death the penalty for a number of offences, notably the illegal possession of arms: and on 17th November four men were shot for this offence. A long series of executions followed: it included Mr Rory O'Connor and Mr Erskine Childers. These did not stop the trouble: the military organisation, for lack of trained commanders, was incompetent. But gradually the forces of authority asserted themselves, and by the month of May 1923 ministers, who had lived through winter in a fortress, were able to go freely abroad. In August the first election under the new Constitution was held without serious incident anywhere. Mr Cosgrave and his fellow-ministers were all returned, for the most part triumphantly; but the Government's pledged supporters numbered only 64, Independents 17, Farmers Party 17, and Labour 11. Republicans won no less that 44 seats, and Mr de Valera in Clare defeated the minister who opposed him by a huge majority.

Thus in a house of 153 the Government had not a majority of pledged supporters: yet those who accepted the Treaty and the Constitution were more than two-thirds of the whole. Nevertheless the strength of the vote for Republicanism and complete separation surprised all observers.

The historical aspect of this matter may be briefly recalled. Since the time of Rory O'Conor and Henry II., no Irish sovereign authority had possessed the right to speak for all Ireland. Resistance to English power had been the resistance of local tribes or peoples. In the time of the great Earl of Kildare, it may be said that all Ireland accepted the overlordship of Kildare as representing the sovereign power of England. Under Henry VIII., that sovereignty was more directly accepted by all Irish princes and chiefs. In Elizabeth's reign Hugh O'Neill and Hugh O'Donnell engaged in a struggle rather to protect their rights against unjust rule than to

abolish the principle of English sovereignty. In the seventeenth century Ireland's two outstanding figures, Owen Roe O'Neill and Sarsfield, fought quite definitely in the cause of an English king; it would be difficult to prove that either of them contemplated or desired the separation of Ireland from the English Crown.

Wolfe Tone is the first true separatist in the history of Ireland under British rule; and he is also the first advocate of a republic. It is very doubtful whether in 1798 the idea of a republic was widely entertained among Irish Catholics; the priests who led at the Wexford rising were little likely to hold with this view. O'Connell, who was far more representative of the traditional Ireland than Tone, was neither Republican nor Separatist. The Young Irelanders were forced into separatism and Republicanism by despair of justice and by sympathy with a European movement. Separatism and Republicanism alike date as a popular Irish creed from the Fenian movement. The famine, and the emigration that followed the famine, the clearances that prolonged the emigration, produced a bitter estrangement from England, expressed in a demand for complete separation; they produced a closeness to America, which resulted naturally in a desire to accept the American model. Up to the period when Fenianism appeared, public attention had been little directed to the example of self-governing states within the Empire; nor were the boundaries of that freedom so widely enlarged as later. In Parnell's day the name Dominions had not come into use; the alternative to Home Rule, the greater freedom which he would have preferred, was indicated by the name Repeal. But for Redmond, Home Rule was certainly a step in the direction of that freedom of the Dominions which he knew best in Australia. Neither of these men seriously considered the possibility of complete separation, nor did any considerable section of the Irish people in the period of their leadership show any desire for it.

As compared with Repeal, the Treaty gave Ireland greatly more freedom than Grattan's parliament possessed, though theoretically that parliament was not subordinate, while theoretically every parliament in the Dominions is subordinate to that at Westminster. The essential difference lies in the control of troops. Henceforward the Imperial Government will have no more right to land troops in Ireland

than in Australia ; under Grattan's parliament it could and did land them as it pleased, and it charged Ireland with their cost.

Also, whereas the freedom of Ireland under Grattan's parliament had no protection, under the Treaty it is guaranteed by the interest of every member of the British Community of Nations. Since the freedom of Ireland is defined as being that to which any Dominion, and more particularly the powerful Dominion of Canada, is entitled by the custom of the Empire, every attempt to lessen that freedom is an attack on the freedom of all the Dominions, and must be resented by all. The extent of that freedom is not fixed and determinate ; it has changed continually, always to widen its limits.

Further, under the international organisation which has begun to develop since the war, Ireland's place has been internationally recognised. She has taken, with the other Dominions, her place in the League of Nations.

The Free State starts on its career with a population whose decline has been arrested. In the year 1914, for the first time since 1846, the population did not decline.

Economically, Ireland's position after the war was more hopeful than at any time since the Union. In 1910 Irish deposits in the Joint Stock banks amounted to fifty millions ; in 1920 they were one hundred and sixty millions. Land having either passed by State-aided purchase to the occupiers, or being held at rents judicially fixed, the fruits of that increasing prosperity which the war brought to agriculture went directly to the farmers ; and before the war the security of tenure had enabled them to equip themselves and to improve their land so far that they were in a position to make the most of the opportunity. In a Europe on the edge of bankruptcy, Ireland was given the chance to begin as a solvent State.

Irishmen have gone far to throw away this with other results of their victory ; but there is no dispute that in gaining the Treaty, Ireland achieved a victory. Those who oppose acceptance of it hold merely that by continuing her effort Ireland might have made victory more complete.

Whether the result should be attributed to a love of freedom, which impelled a great body of young Irishmen to face all risks in arms for the love of Ireland, or to ancient

hatred of England which was stimulated into fury by the methods which England employed to crush resistance; whether most importance should be assigned to the positive military effort of the Irish Republican Army, or to the skilful organisation which forced every inhabitant of the country over wide regions to assist, if only from fear, in obstructing the orders of the British Government and the operations of the British armed forces; or, again, whether the decisive factor was the willingness of the Irish people at large to sustain and comfort, even at certain risk and damage to themselves, the men at active war with the British Army;—whatever weight be assigned to these varying factors, the fact stands out that national solidarity, maintained in the face of a menace to the nation, gave the victory to Ireland, and brought into being the Irish Free State.

The end of the evolution is not yet. But whether Ireland after a period of unrest accepts willingly her place among the British Dominions or no, her position can never be the same as theirs. They are offshoots; she is a parent state, one of the mother-nations. The power of the Irish race diffused over the world may be often exaggerated, yet Ireland is one of the world powers, and perhaps chiefly for the same reason as in her golden age. She has remained a missionary nation. All the force represented by Catholicism in the United States and in Australia is fed and controlled by men of Irish race. Ireland is the only Catholic nation in the English-speaking world, and this in itself gives her a special importance; but it is immensely enhanced by the continued prevalence of missionary zeal in her people.

The same bent of mind which sends Irishmen into missions sends them into politics. They are a race of propagandists; and they have also shown a talent for rule. It has been long a commonplace to say that they governed every country except their own. The future will have to tell us whether that was by reason of English rule in Ireland or no. But whatever be the future, few events have more decisively marked an epoch in the history of any country than the signing of that document which led to the British Army's withdrawal and the handing over of Dublin Castle, after seven hundred and fifty years, to a native authority.

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